

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF  
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## THE MAROONS.

### CHAPTER THE TWELFTH.

#### THE EXECUTION.

AFTER a brief rest, the victims and their escort set out again. They had now scarcely a quarter of a league further to go, and the spectators, ever on the increase as they drew near the fatal spot, pressed forward with greater eagerness.

Not less excited by the coming event than the crowd, two other persons might have been seen at this moment, running at the top of their speed, across the country from the direction of Sainte-Suzanne, and bending their steps towards a small eminence which overlooked the main road. They were negroes, and were both similarly clad, having only a loose linen folded around their loins. One was slight and of medium height; the other athletic and of almost gigantic stature.

"Alas! we shall be too late, we shall be too late! All will be over before we arrive," said the former, speaking to his companion.

Still they ran on, taking advantage of every rise of ground, however slight, to obtain a glimpse of the road, and of the actors in the sad ceremony.

"I see them, I see them!" at length exclaimed the same speaker. "There are the tops of the soldiers' bayonets glistening in the sun, out of a cloud of dust. But see! they have already reached the river-side. We never can fetch up to them."

"Do not let us slacken our pace, for all that," responded the other, gravely. "The tide may be too high, and prevent them

from crossing. We may yet be able to get up to them by cutting across by yonder cascade. Come on! Courage!"

So saying, the tall negro bounded forwards, rushing, rather than running, up a steep rock, overlooking a deep, deep chasm, into which a mountain torrent of water fell sparkling. A momentary pause, a run backwards of a few yards, to take a spring, and he cleared the abyss at a leap. His companion followed his example, and they again set off running in a direction parallel with the stream. Those, however, whom they wished to overtake had succeeded in fording the river, and were, even now, nearly a mile ahead of them. Nevertheless the two negroes ran on, taking a straight course across the country, through paddy-fields and cane patches, enclosures and gardens, without heeding the shouts and threats of the proprietors, and clearing ditches, hedges, and brooks, as though they had wings to their feet.

"Hark!" ejaculated the smaller of the two, looking round with alarm at his companion. "Was not that the report of a cannon?"

"Not possible," replied the other. "Come on—come on."

"There! there are the drums," exclaimed his companion again. "Don't you hear them? We shall be too late, we shall be too late! They are lost! It is all over!"

But the tall negro heard him not. Gathering up his great strength for a last effort, he leaped forward like a roe, and leaving his comrade far behind, soon reached the main road. Without hesitation he plunged into the midst of the astonished crowd, exclaiming:

"Follow me friends! Follow me, brother blacks. You will not see innocent men murdered. Come on! Come on!"

A moment of dead silence, and from that dense dark mass shot a gleam, as of lightning, from a thousand fierce eyes. The crowd swayed to and fro, and presently a deep sound like the roaring of the ocean when lashed into fury by the storm, arose from its midst, and filled the air. The daring and the address of the giant negro had roused the courage of the slaves, and that dense multitude, which but a moment ago durst not utter a word, durst not move, grew instantly menacing, and signified, by one unanimous shout, its resolve to follow him who had spoken to their hearts.

But the executions! What might be the meaning of that lugubrious signal of the cannon and the drum, heard so far off?

No matter! The impulse was given. Simultaneously the mass of slaves pressed forward, close upon the heels of the leader of the revolt, the crowd opening a passage for him, terrified to see him so dauntless. In angry waves the masses burst upon the homicidal square. In an instant the line of soldiers and police was broken through and dispersed, whilst that portion of the crowd who wore shoes—that is, the free—fled on every side, as if seized with a sudden panic. The scaffold, on which lay the heads and the still quivering bodies of two men, was invaded at the same moment, and the executioner constrained to release his hold of the last victim he was on the point of immolating. Just then the companion of the giant negro burst through the crowd, and leaped up the steps of the scaffold. Casting himself in the arms of the rescued slave, he exclaimed:

"'Tis thou, brother Scacalave!"

"I! Saved! Thank God, brother Creole!" responded the other.

And they both wept.

It was, indeed, the Capre, who had, after incredible efforts, and at the risk of breaking his limbs, succeeded almost miraculously in effecting his escape from the dungeon into which he had been cast. Resolved to succour Marie and her child, he made his way back to her dwelling on the mountain, where to his astonishment he found Frème.

The dagger of the dead negro-hunter had, it seemed, inflicted only a slight wound, but to deceive the other, Frème had simulated death. No sooner, however, did he find himself alone, than he returned to his cavern, to his Marie, and to their child. Roused by the recital of the Capre, he was unable to resist the generous impulse of at least attempting to save the lives of their brethren, even at the peril of his own; and hence his sudden appearance at the critical moment, though he reached the spot too late to pre-

vent the immolation of two innocent men to the fury of the white population.

The crowd of slaves, being now excited, began to cry aloud for revenge; but Frème, suddenly advancing to the front of the scaffold, calmed them by an imperative gesture, and having obtained silence, addressed them thus:

"Brothers, no vengeance, no burnings, no murder! God is just. A good day for all is coming. We have saved one brother, though we have lost two. We should do no good by rising in insurrection. A great army of whites would be sent to the island, in war-ships, and we should not be able to resist. No! There must be no vengeance. You must go back to your quarters, and return to your work. The masters will not kill any more of you now they have seen that you may be roused to resist them, if they are so bloodthirsty. I tell you, brothers, there are good men in a far-away country, labouring for your freedom, and God will bless their efforts in his own good time. But till that time comes, many of you will have to suffer. I, too, have suffered, though I was free, and if I am a Maroon, it is the persecution of the white race that has made me one. Still, although I know what your sufferings are, I am not for revenge, but for patience and trust in God. So all of you who have not taken part in this rescue, go back to your homes. You who have, may follow me if you will. I will lead you to a place of safety, whence we can watch over our brethren, and if need be, at any time assist them to defeat the tyranny of their masters."

The crowd hesitated awhile, but reason prevailed, and it began presently to disperse in groups. About a hundred, however, gathered around Frème, the Capre and the Scacalave, and under the guidance of the former, cut across the country to the Salazians, where they established themselves on the summit of a hill near his cavern. They soon rendered the approach inaccessible, concealing it so cunningly, that although large patrols were sent out by the island government to search the locality, they were utterly defeated in their object, and were compelled to leave the refugees in the enjoyment of their liberty.

Frème is still their chief.\* Their numbers are being continually augmented by fresh arrivals from the plantations, and a new race is springing up amongst them. The theory of the incapacity of the negro born in Slavery to enjoy freedom, and of the necessity of his being prepared for it, has been demolished. The day of that freedom—freedom for the whole—will come assuredly. May it be soon!

(Conclusion.)

\* This was written in 1844.—(Ed. A.S.R.)



**The Anti-Slavery Reporter.**

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1855.

**NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS.**

It is respectfully requested that, in future, Subscribers and Donors to the Funds of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will make all Money-Orders payable to the Secretary, Louis Alexis Chamerovzow.

Subscribers to the Society and to the *Reporter* are further respectfully reminded that their Subscriptions will fall due on the 1st of January next.

**PASSMORE WILLIAMSON.**

At a General Meeting of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, held at No. 27, New Broad Street, London, on Friday, the 2nd of November, 1855, the following resolution was adopted, and the Secretary was directed to forward a copy of the same to Passmore Williamson's father, with a request that he be kind enough to place it in the hands of Passmore Williamson; and further that, after the lapse of a reasonable period, to allow of the said resolution's being handed to Passmore Williamson, the Secretary do forward copies of it to Judge Kane, and to the other Judges who have given an adverse opinion in this case, and consigned Passmore Williamson to prison without bail or mainprize.

**RESOLUTION.**

"The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* desire to record an expression of their sympathy with Passmore Williamson, who has now been, for several months, confined in Moyamensing Prison, Philadelphia, for having, in the discharge of a Christian duty, and in his capacity as a citizen of a Free State, promoted the restoration to liberty of three human beings held as slaves.

"The Committee sincerely condole with him in the sufferings he is enduring in the cause of truth and humanity, and admire the fortitude he has exhibited under the very severe trial to which, as a husband and a father, he has been subjected. They have learnt with unfeigned satisfaction that his disinterested and noble conduct in resisting an arbitrary exercise of power, and in refusing to regain his liberty at the cost of his honour and integrity, has received the spontaneous approval of a large number of his fellow-citizens, and

of some of the most distinguished public men in the United States.

"The Committee earnestly hope that this general expression of sympathy in his case may encourage others to 'walk uprightly and fear not;' and that the persecution he is suffering may awaken his fellow-countrymen to a sense of the danger with which their liberties are threatened by the Slave-power, and may induce them to unite in the employment of all moral and pacific means for its overthrow."

On behalf of the Committee,  
(Signed)

GEO. WM. ALEXANDER, *Treasurer.*  
L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*

**ANNEXATION OF CUBA.****THE OSTEND CONFERENCE.****No. III.**

IN our present article we propose to consider the purport of Mr. Marcy's reply to the Circular addressed to him by the three diplomats, James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Pierre Soulé, who met at Ostend, to confer on the policy of the United-States' Government in relation to Cuba. It must be borne in mind that these "manifest destiny" men advocate the seizure of the island, if the United States cannot procure it by purchase, or if its retention by Spain should seem "seriously to endanger *our* internal peace, and the existence of *our* cherished Union."

Mr. Marcy's reply is dated from Washington, November the 13th, 1854. He commences by stating that the President had given the communication above referred to—that is, the Ostend Manifesto—"the deliberate consideration due alike to the importance of the subject therein discussed, and to the experience, wisdom, and ability, of those whose opinions and suggestions it contains." He next adverts to the unsatisfactory state of the relations of the Washington Cabinet with Spain, on the President's accession to office, and to the efforts he had made to preserve peace and goodwill between the United States and the latter country. He goes on to say:

"The source of our past difficulties with Spain and of our apprehensions of future danger is disclosed in the report of yourself and associates. The measure therein presented—the purchase of Cuba—is probably the only one which would, with certainty, place the relations of the two countries on the basis of enduring friendship. While the Island of Cuba remains a dependency of Spain, and the character of her rule over it is not changed—and a change for the better can hardly be anticipated—annoyance to our trade, and difficulties between our citizens and the local authorities, will be of frequent occurrence, and it is scarcely reasonable to expect that a peace

thus rendered precarious will remain long unbroken."

The last sentence forcibly reminds one of the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb. It is the settled policy of the Federal Government to acquire Cuba. If by purchase, well: if not, any grievance, real or supposed, would furnish a pretext for demanding satisfaction and exacting an indemnity. It does not require political spectacles of very extraordinary power to enable an observer to see, that there exists a disposition on the part of the Federal Government to take advantage of any "difficulties" that may arise "between our citizens and the local authorities," to declare that the Cuban Lamb has puddled the waters of the Mexican Gulf.

Mr. Marcy proceeds to point out the course his agent is to observe in sounding public men in Spain on the subject of the purchase of the island, prefacing his instructions with the significant observation, that he believes "it is no longer a secret in Spain that the United States wish to obtain the cession of Cuba," and that Mr. Soulé has "authority to treat" for it. The "manifest destiny" envoy is, however, to be extremely careful not to open a negotiation for the acquisition of the island, nor even to attempt it, if he should have reason to believe that the proposition would be "offensive to the national pride of Spain, and would find no favour in any considerable class of the people." In such case, he adds, "it will be too evident that the time for opening, or attempting to open, such a negotiation has not arrived."

So here we have the object avowed, and also the announcement that its achievement is only a question of time and opportunity.

We have already stated that Mr. Soulé did not find Spanish statesmen so alive to the advantages their country would derive from selling Cuba and its inhabitants to the United States, as it was hoped they would be. Nor does it appear that the envoy's eloquence succeeded in opening their eyes to them. On the contrary, they seem to have been singularly obtuse of understanding on this subject, and to have intimated in language too plain to be diplomatic, that Spain did not intend to dispossess herself of this last gem in her Transatlantic crown. "Manifest destiny" thereupon waxed wroth, and straightway wrote home, whence it presently received instructions to confer with other kindred spirits, namely, Messrs. Buchanan and Mason. The result of their deliberations we give in the subjoined passage; though we have already once published it. We think it needful to repeat it, in order that our readers may appreciate, as its just worth, the disclaimer of Mr. Marcy. This is what Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé say:

"After we shall have offered Spain a price for

Cuba, far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question: Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace, and the existence of our cherished Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, *then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power.* And this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbour, if there were no other means of preventing the flames from reaching his own house. *Under such circumstances we ought neither to count the cost, nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us.*"

It will be perceived that "manifest destiny" is prone to recklessness. It is also ingenious in the employment of terms. "The odds" referred to, simply mean England and France leagued with Spain; and "manifest destiny" is quite prepared to flourish its fist in their face, and cry "Come on," should they venture to protest against the lawless seizure it contemplates.

But what is meant by "endangering our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union?" Does it mean, that if Spain should, at length, turn honest, and fulfil the treaties she has entered into with Great Britain, or, in other words, determine to emancipate the slaves in Cuba—does it mean, we ask, that in such cases "manifest destiny" will cry out: "Our internal peace is menaced! our cherished Union is in danger?" And will "manifest destiny" thereupon proceed to "wrest Cuba from Spain?" If it does not mean this it means nothing.

Again: to whose arbitrament is that momentous question to be referred, which "manifest destiny" propounds? Who is to determine whether the house of "manifest destiny's" Cuban neighbour is burning, and threatens to set fire to "manifest destiny's" nigger-quarters down South? "Manifest destiny" is always seeing fires everywhere, and as its own house is not insured, its nerves are in a state of continual excitement. It is not so long ago that it fancied it saw a fire in Mexico, its proceedings on which occasion present data for forming a tolerably accurate notion of what it is likely to do now its imagination has discovered another fire in Cuba.

But what says Mr. Marcy to "manifest destiny's" declaration of its policy? How cautiously he commences:

"The language of some part of the report might perhaps be so construed as to sustain the inference that you and your associates in the Conference were of opinion that the proposition should be made, though there should be no chance of its being entertained; and that it should be accomplished with the open declaration of a significant suggestion that the United States were determined to have the island, and would



obtain it by other means, if their present advances, so advantageous, be refused by Spain; but other parts of the report repel this inference."

We are of opinion that "manifest destiny's" language is too plain to admit of any doubt as to its signification, notwithstanding Mr. Marcy's assertion that other parts of the report repel the inference to be drawn from the particular passage in question; an inference which he himself felt was palpably the only one admissible, and would be so judged, although he presently makes an attempt to "make the worse appear the better reason." He says:

"The remark in that document, that if Spain should refuse these proposals of the United States 'the question will arise, what ought to be the course of the American Government under such circumstances?' clearly shews that it was intended by yourself and colleagues to recommend to the President to offer to Spain the alternative of cession or seizure."

Of course; the remark under notice does clearly shew this, or it shews nothing. But if it sets forth in such lucid terms the recommendation to seize Cuba, if Spain will not sell her, how can it be consistently argued that the very next passage conveys a totally opposite idea? Mr. Marcy professes, however, to be of this opinion, for he goes on to observe:

"The conclusion that the members of the Conference were against such an alternative proposition, is also drawn from the following passage: 'After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question: Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union?'"

Mr. Marcy stops short here, as if he were in fact afraid to endorse the sentiments and recommendations of his agents. But this is a mere diplomatic trick; for in the subsequent passages he betrays his sympathy with them, by the exceeding care he takes to conceal it. The question of the contingency under which the Federal Government is to consider whether the retention of Cuba by Spain does or does not endanger "our internal peace and our cherished Union," is left open, just as the three "manifest destiny" agents intended, and Mr. Marcy intimates, as plainly as they do, that "a material change in the condition of the island would involve imminent peril to the existence of our Government," and give it a right to refer the case to "the deliberate judgment and decisive action of the American people." But the extract will speak for itself:

"The President concurs in this view of the subject, but to conclude that, on the rejection of a proposition to cede, seizure should ensue, would be to assume that self-preservation necessitates

the acquisition of Cuba by the United States; that Spain has refused, and will persist in refusing, our reclamations for injuries and wrongs inflicted, and that she will make no arrangement for our future security against the recurrence of similar injuries and wrongs. As to the first considerations, I will only remark that the acquisition of Cuba by the United States would be pre-eminently advantageous in itself, and of the highest importance as a precaution measure of security. However much we might regret the want of success in our efforts to obtain the cession of it, that failure would not, without a material change in the condition of the island, involve imminent peril to the existence of our Government: but should the contingency suggested in your report ever arise, there is no reason to doubt that the case will be promptly met by the deliberate judgment and decisive action of the American people."

Having touched upon the most important parts of this despatch, and demonstrated that the policy of the Federal Government in relation to Cuba is in accordance with the views of the "manifest destiny" party, that is, that it contemplates the acquisition of the island by force if need be, we leave the subject for the present.

#### THE DANISH WEST-INDIA COLONIES.

In the October number of the *Reporter* we gave extracts from a series of highly-interesting letters on the Danish West-India possessions, published in the *New-York Tribune*. We append another communication, from the same source. It is singular to note how similar are the effects which the system of Slavery produces everywhere. Waste, extravagance, unskilled cultivation, the perishing of the soil, crops failing in consequence, reduced incomes, incumbrances, mortgages, and finally ruin and expropriation, followed by the springing up of a new generation and of a new order of men and of management, under which prosperity dawns on the island.

St. Croix, W. I., April, 1855.

"Extending my rides and drives in various directions, I behold that wide-spread and mournful decay which has befallen this, in common with nearly all the West-India Islands. The cultivation of large districts formerly producing thousands of hogsheads of sugar has been abandoned: these are principally rugged mountain tracts, stretching along the north side, where they are exposed to the incessant trade-winds. As one looks up to the precipitous sides of the towering mountains from the romantic carriage-way that follows the shore of the 'sounding sea' at their base, the wonder is that they were ever cultivated. They are now grown over with wild shrubbery and the scanty Guinea grass, through which large flocks and herds, tended by negro-drivers, wander for pasturage. Throughout all parts of the island the cane-cultivation has decreased. Unfruitful patches have been permanently 'turned

out.' The labour and manure have been concentrated upon the smaller and naturally richer areas. Here and there an embarrassed estate has gone to waste. Although from what one sees, for the most part, he would not dream that a blight had fallen upon the island, yet many striking facts, such as those noticed already, and 'figures which cannot lie,' unite to tell the story of its present desolation. At one period as many as 45,000 hogsheads of sugar per annum were inspected at the different custom-houses; beside this, large quantities along the coast were smuggled out by means of droghers: at present 12,000 is considered a good crop, and this year it will fall far short of that.

"The causes of the existing decay are obvious, and these results were inevitable. At the time of the great production abovementioned, sugar-cane grew almost spontaneously: compared with the present, little labour was requisite, and the lands could dispense with the aid of manure; but the cane, being a rank, succulent plant, makes large demands on the soil, which it could not long supply. To maintain the lands in a productive state, the natural exhaustion must be repaired by some artificial means. The merest novice in agriculture ought to know, that without rest, or manure, or, better than nothing, rotation in crops, the richest lands will finally fail; but if the old planters possessed this knowledge, they did not profit by it. Manure in sufficient quantities they could not have made if they had tried: accustomed to getting large crops without it, they did not apply their ingenuities to its accumulation, and they shrank from the additional labour. So they kept planting and cutting over the same extended fields until the plants would not amount to any thing, and, step by step, the cane-lands were seriously impaired. Cane was the only crop and therefore there was no such thing as rotation; and as to rest—living constantly up to, and in many instances beyond their means—they could not afford to let any of their lands lie idle.

"This brings to view another great cause of the present decline, namely, the expensive habits of life of the old proprietors, and, consequent thereupon, personal inattention to their estates. Without a rigid and close calculating economy the largest fortune will presently become embarrassed, and at last fail. They expended a great deal improvidently on equipage, on useless servants, on their private table, and on giving or lending their presence and style to public entertainments. Large and expensive balls were common. Great dinner-parties were of almost daily occurrence. At these the choicest qualities and the rarest varieties of wines flowed like water. To say nothing of other kinds, it was no uncommon thing for the planter to have his annual pipe of Madeira. A large bowl of punch was always prepared at noon for casual guests; and at dinner, when the careless old planters gathered at six o'clock around the lavish board of a neighbouring estate, the quantities of wine said to have been drunk surpass belief, until the sequel is honestly related, that the 'jolly old souls' sat over their bottles till the short hours of the morning, talking of women and horses, and the glorious past, and drinking to the sentiment 'More rain,' by which time most of them were under the table,

gloriously drunk, and in a most pliable state to be got home by their faithful slaves.

"By the way, a good story is told touching the toast, 'More rain,' which, owing to the dependence of the canes on an abundance of rain, was an invariable one in the olden time: not only at dinner, but wherever and whenever there chanced to be any social drinking, 'More rain' was the standing toast. An old St. Croix planter was once entertained at a large party in Amsterdam, just after a succession of heavy rains had broken away the dikes, and inundated large portions of the city: his health had been proposed and drunk; and, wishing to do the best possible thing, he responded by the universal toast of his native island, which is said to have produced a marked sensation—the thick-headed old burghers staring at each other in mingled merriment and consternation.

"Such habits, rendering it impossible for the planters to give personal supervision to their affairs, resulted in the expensive and wasteful management of overseers: to obtain the greatest possible returns with the least possible expenditure and labour became the principle on which the plantations were cultivated; and under this system the lands rapidly decreased in value; the embarrassed owners, instead of having to provide merely for current expenses, were forced to rake and scrape enough to pay their annual interest, and for this purpose to run the estates at a ruinous rate, until, when no longer able to maintain the running fire, the attorney stepped in and took possession in the name of the king or some European capitalist. A large number of the estates are the personal property of the king. The Barings have two; a Scotch family, Lang, owns five or six of the best; and the largest on the island is owned by the heirs of Benjamin De Forest, of New York: they have, besides, another fine estate. Scarcely a property in the island is in the possession of the families of the proprietors of fifty years ago. Absenteeism here, as in other West-India islands, does not tend to the improvement of the lands, though its destructive tendency is not so marked as it is elsewhere described to be.

"Another cause which we must notice is, the insufficiency of labour: for many years there have not been labourers enough to cultivate the entire island. As early as 1803 the slave-trade here was abolished; since when the increase of the blacks has been quite inadequate to the demands of labour, particularly considering that, as the soil became through use and misuse more ungenerous, more hands were required for the same number of acres. Emancipation in 1848 gave a severe shock to the planters—saddling them not only with new and heavy expenses, but reducing the number of labourers, and rendering their labour less remunerative. Some of the former labourers have left the estates, and a uniform system of extreme leniency to them has been appointed by the Government—limiting the number of working hours per day, by which the planters lose much of the labour they formerly had. Since 1848 many estates have given up sugar cultivation, and the number of hogsheads of sugar annually produced has fallen off from 20,000 to 12,000.



"Yet, notwithstanding these indications of decay, there are, on the other hand, signs that the depreciation has reached its lowest stage, and that a process of new and more wholesome prosperity has set in. St. Croix seems about to enter upon a new era—to have been passing through a transition state. There is an energy, enterprise, and hopefulness in the present proprietors and about their estates, giving to every thing here quite an encouraging aspect.

"In my next I will endeavour to exhibit the changes from the old regime, and those elements recently introduced in the problem of this island's future, which seem likely to make it at no distant day one of the most prosperous and happy of the Caribbean Isles.

"E. W."

### THE COLOURED POPULATION IN CANADA.

WE have been favoured with the subjoined interesting communication from a correspondent at Toronto, on the subject of the coloured population of Canada. It is only the first of a series of sketches intended to embrace, when completed, an account of the whole of the settlements which have been founded and peopled by fugitives from Slavery. We shall publish the remainder as they may be forwarded to us. Our esteemed correspondent writes as follows:

#### THE ELGIN SETTLEMENT.

"Toronto, Nov. 3, 1855.

"As the people of England have lately testified, in the most practical manner, to the great interest they feel in the coloured man in Canada, a slight sketch of the past history and present position of the various settlements of coloured persons scattered throughout the western section of the province may not prove unacceptable. Having lately paid a visit to the Elgin Settlement, unquestionably the most flourishing of the whole, I shall begin with it.

"As you must be already aware, attempts were made at different times, since the abolition of Slavery in the Colonies, to improve the physical and social condition of the coloured persons who, having escaped from the despotism of the United-States Republic, sought an asylum and a home on the free soil of monarchical Britain. Settlements were formed in different localities, but, from some cause or other, none of them prospered long: difficulties arose, and it began to be surmised that the black man was an intractable sort of being, incapable of improvement under any management, and especially that as a tiller of the soil he was utterly useless. Several benevolent gentlemen, having deliberated over the matter, came to the conclusion that the experiment had not been fairly and fully tested; that there were peculiar circumstances which operated prejudicially in the previous cases, and that at least another effort should be made on a proper scale, and with suitable instrumentalities. Accordingly, about 1848 certain individuals in Toronto, Hamilton, and elsewhere, formed themselves into an *Association for the Settlement and Moral Improvement of the Coloured People of Canada*, procured an Act of

Incorporation from the Legislature, and, with the aid of the Rev. William King, set themselves to work out in earnest the contemplated scheme. With this object in view, about 9000 acres of land were selected in the township of Raleigh, in the county of Kent; and on the 22d of October 1849 some 4300 acres of this were secured from Government. Since that time additional purchases have been made; and the Settlement is now six miles long by about three miles wide. The lands were divided into lots of fifty acres each, and are sold only to actual coloured settlers of approved moral character, at the rate of two dollars and a-half per acre. The first instalment has to be paid down at the time of purchase, and the balance in nine equal annual instalments, with interest.

"On the 3d of December 1849 the first settler entered upon this land, and, from that time to the present, yearly additions have been made, so that almost the whole of the land has been occupied by actual settlers. The houses are all erected on a uniform plan, after a certain model. They stand about 33 feet distant from a road 66 feet wide, which runs past each lot, and are built of round logs, 18 by 24 feet, and 12 feet high, with a gallery running along the length of the front. The space between the house and the road is tastefully laid out in grass-plots or planted with shrubbery, the whole, together with a small garden at the end of each house, being surrounded by a picket fence. While none may build houses inferior to the model, all may surpass it as far as they please. Several have availed themselves of this license, and have constructed larger and more commodious dwellings. The first house that attracted our attention on entering the Settlement was a two-storey brick one, which was built by Alfred H. Mest, and is kept by him as a hotel, on temperance principles. Passing this, we soon arrived at the Mission Church and School-house, small, neat buildings, somewhat like porters' lodges, at the entrance of the avenue leading up to the dwelling-house of the Rev. Mr. King, who resides on the premises, superintending and guiding all the affairs of the Settlement. Acting both in a civil and an ecclesiastical capacity, he is the moving spirit who keeps all the parts of the machine, so to speak, in harmonious working. He is regarded throughout the Settlement as *the King* whom all are bound to obey, and, to judge from what I witnessed, the obedience of the settlers was no less implicit than their confidence and respect were sincere and profound.

"In order that education and morality might progress *pari passu* with the physical improvement around, a school-house and church were erected at the very commencement of the Settlement, and both, I am glad to find, have been regularly and well attended throughout. Several of the coloured children, of whom 150 have been attending school during the year, have made very creditable progress in their studies, and some of them can translate Latin and Greek with considerable facility. The girls are studying music, and to hear the notes of the pianoforte under such circumstances was as pleasing as it was unexpected. The church is under the pastoral care of Mr. King, who is paid by the Free Church of

Canada. The moral condition of Buxton is good. Nothing that intoxicates is made or sold on the lands. The Sabbath, I am informed, is generally observed as a day of rest, and peace and harmony reign throughout. The first sounds that greeted our ears were those of prayer and praise, a weekly prayer-meeting being held in the minister's house. On these occasions there is generally a good attendance.

"In company with Mr. King, I visited as much of the lands as my time would permit, and with all I saw I was highly gratified. During the past year a new steam-saw and-grist-mill was erected, and is in full working order. This will prove of eminent service to the settlers, who can now procure at hand the lumber required for building purposes, and thus afford to make more extensive improvements. Besides, in the winter season they can haul to the mill, logs enough to pay for their lumber, thus clearing their farms, and at the same time providing material for keeping the mill in motion. There are some eight men employed in hauling and cutting logs, which are of the best oak, white ash, hickory, maple, and button-wood. It was a pleasant sight to see them all so profitably employed, and all so happy and energetic-looking. There is a compound corn-mill attached, but it was not in motion during my visit. Upwards of 100 barrels of pearl ashes were turned out of their factory during the last eight months. The quantity of land at present clear and under fence is 827 acres. There are, in addition, 216 acres chopped down and ready for fall and spring crops. There is a large quantity of wheat sown this season, some 180 acres being under crop. Three hundred and forty acres are planted with corn, 50 with potatoes, 40 with oats, and 200 with hay, buckwheat, and turnips. There is also a considerable quantity of tobacco raised, and it is said to be of a superior quality.

"The following is the financial statement of the affairs of the Association, as given in the report for the present year:

"The present liabilities of the Association amount to 2944*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*; that is, to Government, for land and interest, 2211*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*; stockholders, for instalments and interest, 733*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* The assets amount to 3539*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*; that is, for land sold and interest thereon, 3352*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*; land unsold, 187*l.* 10*s.*; leaving a balance of assets, to meet the current or ordinary expenses of the Association, of 594*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

"In order to estimate aright the progress that has thus been made, it is necessary to observe that the settlers have not been permitted to receive any extraneous aid. Most of them entered the lands destitute of means, and having to rely solely on their own labour for support. It is wisely said that the spirit of independence will thus be generated; and instead of those begging customs which have tended to the ruin of other places, habits of industry and frugality will prevail. What the coloured man needs on his arrival in Canada, is not so much money or clothes, as the means of earning both for himself. Of course, temporary aid, in many cases, is absolutely necessary, but this is only for periods of very limited duration. Mr. King and the Com-

mittee, in conducting the affairs of the Association, act upon this principle, and they do so wisely.

"I might say much more of a similar encouraging character regarding this Settlement, but enough has been told to prove that, under proper management, the black man is as capable of success, even in agricultural pursuits, as the white one, and that the social and moral habits of the Ethiopian, when properly directed, are not inferior in any respect to those of the European. To the gentlemen who, in the spirit of benevolence and philanthropy, originated this Settlement, and to the Rev. William King, who has so wisely and energetically, and with such unflagging zeal, carried out their plans and intentions, the public are largely indebted. So long as the coloured man resides amongst us, it is of the utmost consequence to society that his intellectual and moral faculties be cultivated, and that he be allowed the freest scope for the acquisition of physical good. By helping him to overcome the degrading and brutalizing effects of his training while a slave, we thereby not merely aid him in exhibiting to the world that he is fitted for freedom, but do much to hasten that day, which cannot be much longer deferred, when the bonds shall fall from the limbs of the oppressed, and when all in every land shall be put in the possession of those inalienable—because heaven-given—rights, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

## SLAVE SEIZURE.

### CASE OF PASSMORE WILLIAMSON.

WE resume our historical notice of this important and interesting case, commenced in our last number. Passmore Williamson is still a prisoner. He awaits, in his dungeon, with noble resignation and fortitude, the issue of events. Numerous are the expressions of sympathy which pour in upon him, from all quarters, proving how extensive the feeling in his favour has become. We append a few of the principal testimonies.

"The Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society, of Progressive Friends, meeting at Longwood, Chester County, Pennsylvania, Eighth month 7th, 1855, to Passmore Williamson, now incarcerated in jail by Judge Kane of the Supreme Court of the United States, for alleged contempt of Court:

"DEAR FRIEND—We feel it a duty owing to our sense of justice, and as a testimony in favour of liberty, honesty and truth, to address thee words of sympathy and consolation in thy present position. Knowing how stealthily the spirit of Slavery advances wherever opportunity offers, and having witnessed how men in office have in past times pandered to the slave-power, hoping thereby to mount to wealth and influence, we are not surprised to hear of this present stretch of the assumed power of the law, by one of its highest officers.

"We believe, inasmuch as the woman Jane Johnson and her two children were free in



every respect before God and man, that thou cannot be said to have at any time possession of their bodies, and therefore thy response to the writ of habeas corpus was true. We believe the officers of justice are placed in power to carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the law; and, inasmuch as we conceive Judge Kane has neglected the spirit of the law, and taken opportunity to bring a truth-loving citizen into confinement by an arbitrary and uncalled-for interpretation of the law, we desire to express our abhorrence of the act, and to assure thee that thy conduct meets our warmest approbation. Hoping that no immediate apparent advantage will induce thee to waver in thy course for we feel assured that the sentiment of justice existing in the community will sustain thee, and give a lesson worthy of remembrance to those in high places who forget their duty to God by neglecting their duty to man—we subscribe ourselves affectionately, on behalf of the meeting, thy friends, and the friends of the human race,

" Caleb Jackson,	Mary Ann Jackson,
Joseph A. Dugdale,	Ruth Dugdale,
Isaac Mendenhall,	Dinah Mendenhall,
Thomas Garrett,	Mary C. Wilson,
William Barnard,	Priscilla Barnard,
Robert Lamborn,	Mary P. Wilson,
Thomas Curtis,	Hannah Cox."

The Church of Dr. Pennington (coloured Presbyterian) has also addressed a letter of sympathy to Mr. Williamson, as also to the coloured men who were indicted for aiding in the rescue of Mrs. Johnson and her children. It is said that many slaveholders exclaim against the outrage, and aver that Wheeler recklessly threw away his property by bringing it into a Free State, and that he is not deserving of pity.

The following resolution was unanimously passed at a Meeting of the *Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society*, (Pa.), and has been published in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

" *Resolved*, That in the charge of Judge Kane, condemning Passmore Williamson to prison for alleged contempt of Court, striving with all the ingenuity he possesses to construe the law on the side of cruelty and tyranny, in order to punish a man for endeavouring to deliver the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor, we find an evidence that the same willingness to serve the South in defending its system of abominations is still with him, that was manifested in the bloody charge given to the Grand Jury in the case known as the *Christiana Treason Trials*; and that the same honours are due him, that are to Nero and Jeffries for their acts of a similar character.

" *Resolved*, That we highly approve of the course of Passmore Williamson in rescuing those persons from the hands of the oppressor; and that we extend to him our cordial sympathy in his incarceration."

At a meeting of the *Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society*, held September 13th ult., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

" *Whereas*, Since we last assembled together, our city, our State, and our nation, have been

deeply disgraced by the illegal imprisonment of Passmore Williamson, by Judge Kane, on a charge of contempt of Court, in a case where he had no jurisdiction, and where the only offence of the prisoner was the exercise of his right, and the performance of his duty, in informing a free woman, once a slave, that, by the laws of Pennsylvania, she was made free; and,

" *Whereas*, the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania have added to this disgrace, by refusing (by a vote of four to one) to grant a writ of *habeas corpus* to the said Passmore Williamson; and, in thus refusing, have not only daringly violated the plainly expressed and well understood law of *habeas corpus*, but, casting off the decent dignity appropriate to their office, have, also, impugned the motives and insulted the feelings of their noble prisoner; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we regard this act of Judge Kane's as a tyrannical usurpation of power, a bold defiance of the laws of Pennsylvania, an alarming invasion of State rights, a precedent dangerous to the personal liberty of every citizen of the State, and a contemptible prostration of a Northern freeman before the altar of Southern Slavery.

" *Resolved*, That in the conduct of the Bench of Judges of the Supreme Court of this State, in striking down that defence of liberty, the *habeas corpus*, we see lamentable evidence of the subserviency of Pennsylvania to her slave-masters in the South, and of the alarming extent to which the evil influences of Slavery have permeated the political and social institutions of the North, deteriorating the moral character, and impairing the moral sense of our citizens.

" *Resolved*, That while we thus condemn and deplore the decision of the Bench, we accord all honour to Judge Knox, whose name will be held in grateful remembrance by posterity as that of one who, 'faithful found among the faithless,' ably and eloquently pronounced righteous judgment, in opposition to all his associates.

*Resolved*, That the general apathy of our religious denominations, in view of these outrages which have been perpetrated in their midst, is another evidence of the deep corruption and hypocrisy of the American church, which, while it arouses alarm and indignation, must also excite inexpressible grief in every truly Christian heart.

*Resolved*, That the true courage and Christian fortitude, the noble willingness to suffer in a righteous cause, and for the sake of his country's well-being and the elevation of his race, manifested by Passmore Williamson, in this crisis, demand the admiration and high esteem of his fellow-countrymen; and that we hereby assure him of our hearty sympathy in the sacrifice and suffering by which he is now serving the anti-slavery cause.

" *Resolved*, That we proffer the expression of our warmest sympathy to the wife of our imprisoned friend, who bravely shares with him this persecution for righteousness' sake; and, in the name of the slave mothers and wives, on Southern plantations, whose deeper anguish calls on her for succour, and in the name of our country whose dearest rights and liberties are in imminent peril, we do beseech her to falter not in

this stern trial, but, with all the strength and devotion of woman's heart, to minister to the fortitude and heroism of her high-souled husband.

"Resolved, That these startling scenes, enacted in our midst, solemnly call upon us to examine the basis of our faith, and the strength of our principles, and to cherish a supreme and unflinching devotion to truth and to right, that we may be found faithful to humanity and to God, when the time of our trial shall suddenly come, and the shadow of a prison fall across our pathway."

SARAH PUGH, President.

HANNAH L. STICKNEY, Rec. Secretary.

MARY GREW, Cor. Secretary.

The above resolutions were forwarded to Passmore Williamson, with a letter to the following effect:

Philadelphia, Sep. 13th, 1855.

"BELOVED FRIEND AND BROTHER: In transmitting to you the accompanying resolutions of the *Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society*, permit me to say that our words are very inadequate utterances of our sympathy with you in your struggle against the tyranny of usurped power. Vainly do we strive to express that sympathy in its fullness. You are suffering persecution for the sake of a cause to which our hearts and hands are pledged; you stand before the world a representative of the great anti-slavery enterprise which is shaking this nation to its centre, and which is to effect the mightiest moral revolution of this age; and how can we but sympathise intensely with you, as one standing where any of us may, at any time, be called to stand, bearing the interests of our cause in the hottest front of our battle.

"Thank God! no words of exhortation to courage and fortitude are needed from us to you. The inevitable HOUR, fraught with so momentous consequences to the cause of Freedom, found the MAN equal to its large demands. But it may cheer your spirit to know, that even now rich harvests are reaped from your sowing; that we, your fellow-labourers, are growing strong by your courage, patient by your endurance, and earnest by your self-sacrifice: and that others, hitherto careless of the slave's wrongs, or inactive for their redress, are now arousing from their indifference, and coming to swell the anti-slavery host.

'Joy to thy spirit, brother!

A thousand hearts are warm,

A thousand kindred bosoms

Are baring to the storm!"

"However that storm may increase in its fury, and whenever and wherever its thunderbolts may strike, God grant that we may all be found ready to do or to suffer whatever may fall to our lot, with undimmed hope, and unwavering faith that the right shall be vindicated, and that its triumph over wrong shall be complete and glorious,

"On behalf of the *Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society*.

"Very respectfully yours,

MARY GREW, Cor. Secretary.

"MR. PASSMORE WILLIAMSON, Moyamensing Prison, Philadelphia."

The subjoined proposition was made through the medium of the *New-York Tribune*. The *Anti-slavery Standard* of the 29th of September ult., commenting upon the proposal, expresses the opinion that if Judge Kane does not speedily relax the grasp by which he holds his prisoner, there will be little difficulty in obtaining the means of building the WILLIAMSON INSTITUTION.

"SIR, — I beg to propose, through your columns, to the people of the free States of this Union, that they unite in presenting to Mr. Passmore Williamson a substantial and durable testimonial of the admiration they feel for his patient and magnanimous endurance of the grossest wrong which was ever inflicted by a legal functionary upon an American citizen.

"Mr. Williamson, I presume, is not in circumstances to need pecuniary compensation for his iniquitous imprisonment, nor is he the man to accept a pecuniary reward for doing his duty; nor would he be pleased with a testimonial of the kind which grateful passengers are in the habit of presenting to polite captains of ships.

"I suggest, therefore, that a sum of money be raised by subscription for the purpose of founding in the city of Philadelphia an Institution for the benefit of coloured people, to be called by the name of Kane's heroic victim, and its nature and objects to be designated by him. Mr. Williamson is probably as well acquainted with the wants and condition of the coloured population of Philadelphia as any other of its citizens, and it would doubtless be deeply gratifying to him to be the means of rendering them the service they most require. The Williamson Institution would be at once his reward and his monument, as well as a standing rebuke to the abusers of power.

"If this suggestion should be approved of, and a proper committee named for carrying it out, I cannot doubt that a very handsome sum will be promptly contributed for the object proposed.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"New York, Sept. 20, 1855.

"J. P."

The following resolution was moved by Gerrit Smith, and unanimously adopted, at a large public meeting held at Utica, State of New York, on the 12th of September ult.:

"Resolved, That, in the imprisonment of our noble and beloved brother, Passmore Williamson, we have ample proof that it has been left to *Republican America* and *Christian America* to furnish an instance of judicial usurpation, more tyrannical, more infamous, and more alarming, than any to be found in the records of any other people."

The annexed spirited letter from Passmore Williamson, addressed to a gentleman of New York, who had written to him inquiring as to the truth of certain rumours respecting new efforts for his liberation, will shew what kind of man he is for whom such general sympathy has been manifested.



No 78, Philadelphia County Prison,  
Sept. 29, 1855.

"DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 27th inst. is now before me, and in reply to your inquiry, I may say that I contemplate no further legal proceedings with reference to my liberation from this jail, in which I am now confined. I have now been kept here for more than two months, and I can see no prospect of liberation. I am a native, and have always been a citizen of Pennsylvania; and believing myself atrociously wronged, I applied to the highest tribunal known to our laws, but relief has been withheld. I can expect none from the authority that placed me here, without dishonourable submission. Having been guilty neither of falsehood, dissimulation, nor contumacy, I am sure that it is no case for a degrading capitulation. Such a course would bring with it a diminution of self-respect more oppressive than the power now seeking to crush out the highest attribute of State sovereignty by immuring me within these walls.

"Accept for yourself, and communicate to others who favour me with their consideration, my most grateful acknowledgments.

"Respectfully yours, &c.,

P. WILLIAMSON."

The *New-York Tribune* thus comments upon it:

"During the progress of this memorable affair we have repeatedly had occasion to draw attention to the contrast between the position of Williamson and that of the man who, so long as he is remembered, will be infamous as his oppressor. No unprejudiced person can doubt that the outraged man who sits there in prison, suffering calmly and without weakness this bitter wrong, is far more to be envied than the unjust and wicked judge who flung him into prison, and who in turn must bear forever the brand of public loathing, indignation, and contempt. Mr. Williamson's letter renders this contrast even more palpable. The spirit it breathes is an honour to human nature. Such dignity, such manly resolution, such unbroken serenity and persistence, would lend a new lustre to the names of famous heroes. We need never despair of a State which has so noble a son."

The following is an interesting description of the prison and of the prisoner, extracted from *The Independent*.

"The place of Mr. Williamson's confinement is the department of the Moyamensing Prison appropriated to the keeping of criminals. We believe that this is the first instance in which a prisoner of the United-States Court has been confined in any other than the debtor department of that prison. The department for criminals consists of a double row of cells on either side of a long parallelogramic area, which is neatly paved, well ventilated and lighted from above. A narrow corridor runs round the entire circuit of the walls under the upper tier of cells. Mr. Williamson occupies an arched cell in this tier, measuring about seven feet by ten, and nine feet

high in the centre, and lighted by a narrow barred window set in the thick outer wall of stone. The cell is whitewashed, and is provided with the usual prison arrangements for personal cleanliness, a water faucet and a waste-pipe. Its furniture consists of a plain cot bedstead, a rude wash-stand and table, a narrow strip of carpet by the bed-side, and two chairs. Simple as these articles are, only a small part of them belong to the proper furniture of the prison. Mr. Williamson's meals are supplied from without the prison walls. His cell is entered through an iron door, about four feet by two, and is in all respects just such a cell as is allotted to any felon in a decent modern prison. A few books lying on the floor, an air of neatness about the narrow cot, and the demeanour of the occupant, are all that suggests to the visitor that the room is occupied by a Quaker gentleman, and not by a common felon. We have visited a murderer in just such a cell.

"Mr. Williamson is in the prime of life (thirty-four years of age), tall and slender, of a pleasant expression, a good specimen of the class sometimes called 'genteel' Quakers. His countenance is intelligent, animated, and thoughtful, with no marked peculiarity, and his conversation at once suggests a calm firmness of principle and a quickness of benevolent sympathy, as characteristics of the man. He is the head of a family, having a wife and three children—one born since his incarceration. He belongs to a family of the highest respectability. His father, Mr. Thomas Williamson, a conveyancer by profession, is a well-known citizen of Philadelphia, a much-esteemed member of the Orthodox Friends' Meeting. Passmore is associated with him in business, and shares his reputation for urbanity, integrity, and philanthropy. We have the authority of a judicious Friend, whom we have known for twenty years, for saying that 'no man is more highly esteemed in Arch Street Meeting for probity of character and purity of life than Passmore Williamson, and his father before him,' and that the unanimous opinion among Friends is that he has been greatly wronged by Judge Kane. Such is Mr. Williamson's character for integrity, that, where he is known, the fact that he made such a return to the writ is sufficient evidence of its truth."

A very interesting feature in this case has been the presentation of a petition on the part of Jane Johnson, the female slave whose rescue led to the imprisonment of Williamson, praying for his release. The following is the affidavit she made. It corroborates the statement of Passmore Williamson, and proves that Mr. Wheeler's was untrue.

"State of New York, City and County of New York—

"Jane Johnson, being sworn, makes oath and says: 'My name is Jane Johnson; I was the slave of Mr. Wheeler of Washington; he bought me and my two children, about two years ago, of Mr. Cornelius Crew, of Richmond, Va.; my youngest child is between six and seven years old, the other between ten and eleven; I have one other child only, and he is in Richmond, Va.; I have not seen him for about two years;

never expect to see him again. Mr. Wheeler brought me and my two children to Philadelphia, on the way to Nicaragua, to wait on his wife. I did not want to go without my two children, and he consented to take them. We came to Philadelphia by the cars—stopped at Mr. Sully's, Mr. Wheeler's father-in-law, a few moments, then went to the steamboat for New York at two o'clock, but went too late; we went to Bloodgood's hotel; Mr. Wheeler went to dinner; Mr. Wheeler had told me in Washington to have nothing to say to coloured persons, and if any of them spoke to me, to say I was a free woman, travelling with a minister: we staid at Bloodgood's till five o'clock.

"Mr. Wheeler kept his eye upon me all the time, except when he was at dinner. He left his dinner to come and see if I was safe, and then went back again. While he was at dinner I saw a coloured woman, and told her I was a slave woman, that my master had told me not to speak to coloured people, and that if any of them spoke to me, to say that I was free; but I am not free, but I want to be free. She said, "Poor thing, I pity you."

"After that I saw a coloured man, and said the same thing to him. He said that he would telegraph to New York, and that two men would meet me at nine o'clock and take me with them. After that we went on board the boat. Mr. Wheeler sat beside me on the deck. I saw a coloured gentleman come on board. He beckoned to me. I nodded my head, and could not go. Mr. Wheeler was beside me, and I was afraid. A white gentleman then came and said to Mr. Wheeler, "I want to speak to your servant; and tell her her rights." Mr. Wheeler rose and said, "If you have any thing to say, say it to me. She knows her rights." The white gentleman asked me if I wanted to be free. I said, "I do, but I belong to this gentleman, and can't have it." He replied, "Yes you can. Come with us: you are as free as your master. If you want your freedom, come now: if you go back to Washington you may never get it." I rose to go. Mr. Wheeler spoke and said, "I will give you your freedom;" but he had never promised it before, and I knew he would never give it to me.

"The white gentleman held out his hand, and I went towards him; I was ready for the word before it was given. I took both the children by the hands, who both cried, for they were frightened, but stopped when they got on shore. A coloured man carried the little one, I led the other by the hand. We walked down the street until we got to a hack. Nobody forced me away. Nobody pulled me, and nobody led me. I always wished to be free, and meant to be free when I came North. I hardly expected it in Philadelphia, but I thought I should get it in New York. I have been comfortable and happy since I left Mr. Wheeler, and so are the children. I don't want to go back. I could have gone in Philadelphia, if I had a mind to. I could go now, but had rather die than go back.

"I wish to make this statement before a magistrate, because I understand Mr. Williamson is in prison on my account, and I hope that the truth may be of benefit to him."

"JANE JOHNSON [her mark.]"

By a reference to our last Number it will be seen under what circumstances Jane Johnson petitioned the District Court of the United States to quash the writ in virtue of which her benefactor was imprisoned. On the 12th October ult., Judge Kane gave his decision. It was a refusal to entertain her petition, on the ground of her having no status in the eye of the law, because "she asks no judicial action for herself, and does not profess to have any right to solicit action in behalf of another." The decision itself occupies nearly four columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, which says that "about one sixth portion of it is an answer to the Petition, and the remainder an elaborate defence of the judge's persecution of Mr. Williamson, as he (Judge Kane) doubtless felt that some defence of himself was needed, though his inhuman conduct is incapable of defence or apology on any ground of common sense, law, or justice."

The following article, copied from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 27th October ult., embraces the most recent account of what has since been attempted in this case.

"Another step was taken, on Monday 22d October, in Passmore Williamson's case, but, as heretofore, with no other result than to shew the determination of Judge Kane to maintain the position he has assumed from the beginning, and to keep Williamson in prison till he acknowledges himself guilty of the charge which this judicial tyrant has brought against him.

"On Monday a petition was presented in Judge Kane's Court by Messrs. Meredith, Gilpin, and Hopper, Mr. Williamson's counsel, on his behalf. Mr. Hopper began the reading of the petition, when he was stopped by the Judge. The proceedings are thus reported:

"The Judge said that Mr. Williamson had a right to apply to the Court to purge the contempt; this must be the first step: if this petition is such a purgation, then it will be received; otherwise it will not.

"Mr. Meredith argued that Mr. Williamson should be heard in Court.

"The Judge said, that upon reasonable notice being given to the District Attorney, he would, with pleasure, hear the counsel in the case upon any preliminary question arising in it.

"District-Attorney Vandyke stated that he had no notice whatever of this application. He thought notice was necessary. He asked that a copy of the application should be furnished him, and in any reasonable time he would, with pleasure, come in and argue it.

"Judge Kane then said: As at present advised, I am of opinion that I can receive no communication from a party who remains in contempt. The first step, preliminary to all others, is an application for leave to purge himself of his contempt. The purgation completed, he is reinstated before the Court, and has the same rights as before the adjudication under which he was committed. If, in the opinion of counsel, this



view of the Court's duty is erroneous, I shall be happy to avail myself of their learned research for my future guidance.

'The Judge declined receiving the petition, stating, however, that upon the question of his right to receive it he would be happy to hear an argument.'

"At the recent proceedings in this case, on the petition of Jane Johnson that the writ be quashed, a conversation occurred between Judge Kane and Gen. Cadwallader, in which the former said that the public impression, that he had refused to permit an amendment to the original return to the writ, was not correct. He added that he had been prepared to receive a supplementary return, but none had been offered. The present proceeding on the part of Mr. Williamson's counsel was, we presume, intended as such a supplementary return. But now it seems that the 'first step' must be the appearance of Williamson to purge himself of contempt. If the report of the proceedings on the first appearance of Williamson be correct, the public impression that Judge Kane refused to permit an amendment to the writ is the right one. He certainly did refuse, though he now denies it. When denying it, he said 'he had been prepared to receive such a supplementary return,' and the evident object of Gen. Cadwallader was to suggest such a step. Indeed, Gen. Cadwallader said that he was induced to make his suggestion that an addition be made to the opinion of the Court, embracing his own remarks and the Judge's reply, in the hope that 'it might lead to the adoption of such a course as would end in his (Williamson's) liberation.' Such a course is now taken. *The Ledger* says that the matter contained in the petition, so far as it was read by Mr. Hopper, till he was interrupted by Judge Kane, was a statement by Mr. Williamson of his connection with the removal of Jane Johnson and her boys from Wheeler's custody, and similar to the statement made by him at the time of the hearing of the writ. This is a supplementary return which Judge Kane now refuses to hear, notwithstanding his declaration, a few days since, that he had been prepared to receive it. It is well to keep all these steps in mind. They all shew a vacillation of purpose in Judge Kane, and indicate either a singular change of mind on reflection, on his part, or else that, subsequent to his public avowals of his position, he is induced to reconsider it, by suggestions from some quarter, when there is the least leaning on his part toward the side of mercy or justice. Federal influence, no doubt, urges him one way; the influence of public opinion, perhaps, affects him on the other. The two together, we trust, will squeeze him as flat as dough can be made."

We conclude our present notice of this case, with a communication which has been addressed to the editors of the *Evening Post*, which is said to be from the pen of one of the ablest lawyers in the United States. It proves, upon Judge Kane's own shewing, that the imprisonment of Williamson for his return to the writ of *habeas corpus* was not only an outrage but an absurdity.

#### "TO THE EDITORS OF THE EVENING POST:

"In common with every American citizen I have taken a deep interest in the action of Judge Kane in regard to Passmore Williamson, and am unwilling to admit the imputations, too freely made against him, of prostituting his judicial office to curry favour with any particular section of the Union.

"Inasmuch as his action has placed him on trial before the bar of public opinion, all he says in justification of such action is entitled to grave consideration. I am therefore much obliged by the insertion in your paper of the extracts from his opinion, for the reasons of the decision he arrived at upon the petition for the discharge of Mr. Williamson. And after carefully reading it, I confess myself somewhat at fault in comprehending the logical consistency of the judge in several particulars, which, with your permission, I will point out.

"I find no difficulty in understanding that every Court must have the inherent right of protecting itself against insult and aggression, and of punishing, by attachment, any violation of such right. The right of the Courts, also, to compel, by *habeas corpus*, a person or persons having the custody of a human being, alleged to be unlawfully restrained of his liberty, to bring such human being before the Court, and to shew cause, if any exist, why such being should not be restored to his liberty, I fully comprehend. But I have never understood that the process of *habeas corpus* could be issued by a Court to bring a chattel before it for the purpose of adjudication upon its ownership; or to bring a person to be tried for any cause whatever, much less condemned by original sentence to any punishment of loss of liberty, or pecuniary fine, or otherwise. And this brings me to the trouble I find in the logical consistency of the judge's positions as justifications of his acts.

"*First*—The judge assumes and decides, that, for the purpose of the proceeding before him, the slave was to be considered as a chattel—as much so as if she were a bale of cotton; that such property belonged to Mr. Wheeler, who had been deprived of it by the act of Mr. Williamson.

"If this be so, will you please inform me by what authority or precedent the Court could bring the property before it by *habeas corpus* for adjudication.

"*Second*—In a subsequent part of the opinion the judge seemed to abandon the ground of the slave being a chattel—admits her to be a human being, and, as alleged, deprived of her liberty by Mr. Williamson. That, therefore, Mr. Wheeler, as a friend, desirous of having her restored to liberty, of which she was unjustly deprived, applied to the Court for a *habeas corpus*.

"The *habeas corpus*, upon this hypothesis, seems reasonable enough.

"But I don't see what force Mr. Wheeler's property, in the person whom Williamson was then unjustly depriving of her liberty, can have to do with the master. The only questions on the *habeas corpus* were, whether the human being was illegally deprived of her liberty, and if so, by whom; not whether Mr. Williamson had wrongfully taken Mr. Wheeler's chattels.

"The judge seems to deny that the slave has

any standing in Court. I confess this greatly perplexes and surprises me. The application was made on her behalf by her next friend, she, as the judge supposes, by reason of her confinement, being unable to make the application in person.

"The wrongs or injuries to her rights, and not to Mr. Wheeler's, set the Court in motion. And it appears to me strange indeed that a party, whose private rights a Court is engaged in protecting, has no voice in the proceeding; but must, contrary to his wishes, and when he insists no wrong has been done, submit to any action which the Court, before whom he was brought through the intervention of a person calling himself a friend, but who, in fact, the party considers his worst enemy, may, in the plenitude of its benevolence, or its stern determination to right all wrongs, think proper to take.

"It appears to me, the application, if approved by the woman, became her application *ab initio*; and if her first action in Court was a repudiation of the application, such repudiation must have the same retroactive effect.

"The right of repudiating the impertinent interference in one's affairs of a person who, though actuated by benevolent motives, shall assume to be one's friend, and in the same form where such interference took place, I should think must be clear. Let me suppose a case. Suppose some honest but mistaken lover of freedom should imagine that Franklin Pierce was unjustly deprived of liberty of action by Jefferson Davis and others, and should apply for a *habeas corpus* to have the President brought before the Court; that the Court should issue the writ, as it would be bound to do; that Davis should return on oath that the President was not in his custody, which the Court, as well as many others, should believe to be false, and should, therefore, commit Davis for contempt in not swearing to the truth. As this proceeding, in contemplation of the law, was solely for the benefit of the President, would he not have the right to come into Court by petition, and say that Davis had sworn to the truth, and that the proof upon which the Court had condemned Davis was itself false; and should not the Court, on the plainest principles of justice, discharge Davis, although he should for any cause decline to humbly beg for what clearly belonged to him?

"Your satisfactory explanation of these matters will much oblige a "CONSTANT READER."

Since the foregoing was in type, we have received the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 30th November ult., which contains some further information. It will have been remarked that Judge Kane refused to receive Passmore Williamson's petition, on the ground that it was not "a purgation of his contempt;" but expressed his willingness to hear argument upon the question. On the 26th October Messrs. Hopper, Gilpin, and Meredith appeared as Counsel for Williamson. Mr. Meredith stated that the petition set forth certain facts demonstrating that the prisoner had never been at any time able to comply with the command of

of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and that it contained a protest against the jurisdiction of the Court. An argument then arose as to whether the Court could receive any other paper than one purporting to be a purgation of the contempt, which the present petition was not. The proceedings were adjourned till next morning, when Judge Kane, on opening the Court, said he had read the paper, and did not find it to contain either a purgation of the contempt, or the expression of a wish on Williamson's part to make such a purgation. Upon this another argument ensued, and the Court adjourned until the following Monday, October 29th, when Judge Kane filed the following order, which may be accepted as his final decision.

"THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *against* WILLIAMSON.—And now, October the 29th, 1855, the Court having heard argument upon the motion for leave to read and file among the records in this case a certain paper writing purporting to be the petition of Passmore Williamson, and having considered thereof, do refuse the leave moved for; inasmuch as it appears that the said Passmore Williamson is now remaining in contempt of this Court, and that by the said paper writing he doth in nowise make purgation of his said contempt, nor doth he thereby pray that he may be permitted to make such purgation, wherefore the said Passmore Williamson hath not at this time a standing in this Court.

"To the end, however, that the said Passmore Williamson may, when thereto minded, the more readily relieve himself of his said contempt,

"It is ordered that, whenever, by petition in writing, to be filed with the clerk, Passmore Williamson shall set forth, under his oath or solemn affirmation, that he 'desires to purge himself of the contempt because of which he is now attached, and to that end is willing to make true answers to such interrogatories as may be addressed to him by the Court, touching the matters heretofore legally inquired of by the writ of *habeas corpus*, to him directed at the relation of John H. Wheeler,' then the marshal do bring the said Passmore Williamson before the Court, if in session, or if the Court be not in session, then before the judge at his chambers, to abide the further order of the Court in his behalf; and it is further ordered that the clerk do furnish copies of this order to the said Passmore Williamson, and to the attorney of the United States, to the marshal.

"J. K. KANE."

As Williamson has not committed a contempt of Court, it is evident he cannot comply with Judge Kane's command without telling a falsehood. This he never will do, and therefore, as the only condition on which he can obtain his release is an impossible one, he must remain in confinement, until the question is decided by an appeal to some higher tribunal: if such a one there be open to him in the United States.

P.S.—By the last mail we learn that Williamson has been released by Judge Kane.



## ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

We extract the following from our recent American files:

## AN ABOLITIONIST CHASED AND DROWNED.—

We learn that within a week past there has been some excitement in Garrard County, consequent upon an affair in which an Abolitionist was involved. During the present year some three negroes have been run off from Jessamine County. Last week evidence was obtained that a Mr. Pullam of Garrard had an agency in the Cincinnati transaction. Accordingly a warrant was issued by a magistrate of Briantville for the arrest of Pullam. The constable, assisted by four or five gentlemen, went to the field where he was working, and arrested him. They then started to return, but after progressing a short distance the prisoner broke away. He outran the officer and his posse; and the constable, seeing his prize about to escape, fired a pistol, hitting him in the back. He instantly fell, screaming with pain; but just as the pursuing party came up he arose and fled toward the Kentucky river. Coming to a high cliff he fell first about seven feet, then ten, and finally over a precipice thirty feet high, making the fall altogether forty-seven feet. Pullam seemed endowed with more than mortal vigour, and rising, plunged into the Kentucky river. Nothing has been seen or heard of him since, and preparations were being made to drag the river, as it is presumed that he was drowned.

Whatever may have been the guilt of the poor fellow, he certainly merited, by reason of his exhibition of spirit, a more fortunate end.—*Louisville Courier*.

Senator Sumner travels in the Slave States with perfect impunity: at Nashville, Tenn., he "received the attentions of many prominent citizens."

**NETHERLANDS INDIA.**—The Dutch Government have decreed the total abolition of Slavery in Netherlands India:

"Art. 115.—Slavery is utterly abolished in the whole of Netherlands India on the 1st January 1860. Art. 116.—The slave-trade, the import and public sale of slaves, are prohibited. Persons brought as slaves from elsewhere are free as soon as they come within the territory of Netherlands India."—*Cape Shipping Gazette*, 1st June.

**EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.**—The New-Orleans *Delta*, July 8th, says: "Two very likely looking mulatto slave girls were emancipated yesterday by a Jury of slaveholders, on the application of their owner, who was also a mulatto: they were also allowed to remain in the State and enjoy their liberty, upon the master giving bonds and security that they should never become a burthen to the Commonwealth. This is the first case under the law which was passed by the last Legislature. Hitherto the Legislature alone had the power of emancipation."

**AMERICAN SLAVE-HUNT.**—"Two or three days since a gentleman of this parish, in hunting runaway slaves, came upon a camp of them in the swamp on Cat Island. He succeeded in arresting two of them, but the third made fight, and,

upon being shot in the shoulders, fled to a sluice, where the dogs succeeded in drowning him before assistance could arrive."—*St. Francisville (La.) Chronicle*.

## NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received a letter from Mr. Stephen Bourne, denying the accuracy of certain statements which appeared in an article on Jamaica, in our September Number, and which he designates a libel on Sir Henry Barkly's policy. We regret that the crowded state of our columns prevents us from inserting Mr. Bourne's letter, but we will do so in our next.

## Advertisements.

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The narrative under notice is highly interesting. His (the narrator's) account of the way in which he escaped from Slavery is curious and striking.—*John O'Groat's Journal*.

A work which, if *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or the *Key* had not been written, would excite very considerable sensation. . . . . The narrative is written in a calm, moderate spirit, and with great ease and elegance.—*Banner of Ulster*.

It bears internal evidence of being substantially true, being consistent with other testimonies of fugitive slaves, while containing sufficient diversity of circumstances to mark its individuality.—*Anti-Slavery Advocate*.

To understand what American Slavery really is, people should read a narrative like the one before us: a narrative which lays bare the inner life of Slavery: which reveals the dark secrets of the prison-house: which contains a plain and detailed record of that system which no traveller, no politician, no philanthropist even: no one, in fact, but a slave, can fully describe.—*The Empire*.

A volume worthy of standing side by side with the narratives of Douglass, Pennington, Wells Brown, and others.—*British Banner*.

It is free from the failings often to be found in similar auto-biographies; and our readers will find that a perusal will repay them for the time employed. The work is a small one, very interesting, and easily read.—*The Friend*.

No book which we ever read, except *Uncle Tom's Cabin* harrowed our feelings so thoroughly, or stimulated our hatred to Slavery more keenly. Contrary to our usage in reviewing, we intend to resume records of thrilling sorrow, generous benevolence, and outrageous oppressions, never surpassed.—*Christian Weekly News*, 29th February.



## THE NATIONAL ERA.

Parties in England intending to subscribe to the *National Era*, an Anti-Slavery Weekly Newspaper, published at Washington, U. S., may forward their subscriptions, with their name and address, to L. A. Chamerovzow, No. 27, New Broad Street, London.

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# LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

PAPERS READ AND STATEMENTS MADE

ON THE

PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS SUBMITTED

TO THE

## ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE,

HELD AT THE LONDON TAVERN

ON THE 29TH AND 30TH OF NOVEMBER 1854.

PREPARED AND ISSUED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE  
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

27 NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON.

## INTRODUCTION.

IN issuing this Tract, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have been influenced by a desire to present, in the most convenient form, the principal papers that were prepared, and the statements that were made, on the leading subjects which engaged the attention of the recent Anti-Slavery Conference. They believe that, for all practical purposes, this Tract will be found more generally acceptable and useful than the condensed Report of the proceedings which had been announced, but the publication of which, owing to various circumstances, was unavoidably delayed until the interest originally attaching to it had in a great measure subsided.



## LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE,

HELD AT THE LONDON TAVERN, ON THE 29TH AND 30TH OF NOVEMBER 1854.

PRESIDENT, SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.

PAPER PRESENTED BY THE REV. JOHN HOWARD HINTON, ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN, AS A PUBLIC QUESTION, AND ON THE DUTY OF BRITISH ABOLITIONISTS.

SIR,—I beg to offer to the Conference, which I sincerely congratulate on its assembling, some remarks on the present position of the Anti-slavery question in Great Britain, as a public question, and on the duty of British Abolitionists.

I begin by observing that it is, of course, only as "a public question" that we assume to have any thing to do with Slavery. It is not for us to meddle with the conduct or the property of individuals, properly so called; but we have to do with the rights and liberties of mankind, and we are warranted to bring under notice the conduct of individuals, too, when an active interest in the cause of justice and humanity brings us into contact with them. The thief and the receiver of stolen goods, the violator of domestic serenity and the shedder of innocent blood, assail interests, which are, indeed, in one man private, but which are also, in another man, public, and they have no longer any right to shelter under the plea of individual freedom. Public reprehension is justly visited on what, although inflicted on an individual, is a wrong against society. And so long as this is the case, the slave-trader and the slaveholder—names than which none in human language are more suggestive of complicated crime and aggravated injury—must be held righteously liable to the indignant rebukes and the determined opposition of mankind.

It is now many years since Slavery and the Slave-trade were taken up as constituting the elements of a public question in England, and the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other equally illustrious leaders in the struggle which ensued, are embalmed in the affections of the good, as in spices of imperishable fragrance. And for the reasons which made it (the Anti-slavery question) of public interest then, it surely ought to be so now. Humanity and justice are not matters of temporary moment. It is true that men-stealers no longer carry on their nefarious traffic under the British flag, and that the existence of a bondsman is no longer recognised on British soil; it is true that the extinction of both these atrocious evils—Slavery and the Slave-trade—has been effected, in whole or in part, by other countries; but it is true, also, that the world

still groans under them to an extent so fearful, that weeping and indignant humanity may well refrain from either staying her tears, or suspending her rebukes. Some time, indeed, we may hope it will be otherwise. We are warranted to look for a period when the chain of every captive shall be broken, and the cry of the bondsman shall no more be borne upon the breeze. Then Anti-slavery effort will no longer be required; and the Anti-slavery question will cease to exist, except as a matter of historic record. But this cannot be while the magnificent daughter of Britain tenaciously cherishes Slavery in her bosom as the dearest of domestic institutions, nourishes an atrocious traffic in her own children by an internal Slave-trade equally heartless and heart-rending, and stretches out longing hands—hands even now not altogether unsoiled—towards the African shore. This cannot be while European nations still carry on, not only without a blush, but under the flimsy veil of pretences as transparent as they are wicked, that guilty traffic in human beings which desolates one continent only to curse another. This cannot be while some of the prime luxuries and necessities of life are sown for us in tears, and reaped in agony, and our very persons are clad, and our tables loaded, with the representations of suffering and wrongs equally without a parallel.

Ah! had it not been for the arousing of British sentiment and energy, the magnitude of these evils had been far greater at the present moment; than, thanks be to God! it is. But what would be the prospect of their final extinction, if British sentiment and energy should now sink into slumber and repose? Nay, in such a case, what could be expected but that the spirit of covetousness and oppressions, stricken, but not slain, and then no longer ashamed, would a second time rush forth upon his prey, and with a thirst for blood only the more ferocious for the temporary suspension of its gratification? Sir, in this respect England is still the hope of humanity, and she must not shrink from her position or her toil till her work is done. British Abolitionists have unfurled the banner of freedom for the slave; and they must inscribe on it a motto, originally selected for a far less worthy cause: they must write on it

"No SURRENDER!"

What, then, is the present position of the Anti-slavery question in England? I answer in two words: Quiescent, but not extinct; embar-

rassed, but reviving. Let me explain myself briefly on each of these points.

I have said that the Anti-slavery question, as a public question in England, is quiescent. I say quiescent—not absolutely, of course, but comparatively. We all recollect to what a pitch of intensity the Anti-slavery spirit of Great Britain was excited at successive epochs, when the great struggles were to be maintained, first against the African slave-trade, then against colonial Slavery, and afterwards against Slavery in India. Compared with these epochs, the Anti-slavery feeling of the present day may be truly said to be quiescent. Little attention, comparatively, is now paid to the subject. A satisfactory reason for this, however, can readily be assigned. It is not that the people of England are less thoroughly pervaded by a love of freedom and justice, or that their sentiments of humanity and compassion are less powerful; it is only that there is at present no great and tangible object to call them into exercise. Were the evils to be combated again to present themselves in a form challenging active and strenuous opposition, British philanthropy would be easily awakened from its repose, would promptly array itself in living and triumphant power.

But British Anti-slavery sentiment has also been embarrassed in its action. On an important and complicated question—that of the sugar duties—a division of opinion arose among Abolitionists, and the *Anti-Slavery Society* found itself deserted by its natural and wonted allies—a loss which was far from being compensated by the interested and transient support of a party at once new to their ranks, and alien from their principles. The excitement of that infelicitous period, however, is past; and now was a fitter occasion for the application of the northern adage, “Let bygones be bygones.” The troops momentarily separated, and opposed to each other in a transient skirmish, are in reality champions of the same cause, and it is fit that they should be fighting under the same banner. Let the free traders be assured of it, the *Anti-Slavery Society* most cordially accepts their returning co-operation, and rejoices in the conviction that there is power enough in noble sentiment and righteous principle to obliterate all traces of a momentary alienation.

I now ask, finally, what is the present duty of British Abolitionists? And I thus answer: Happily reunited in position, as always united in spirit and in principle, their present duty is to marshal themselves for action. The great question of the moment is, What is to be done? This question, although I thus venture to propose it, it is not for me to answer; this will be done with much more effect by the speakers to whom the various branches of this great subject have been allotted. To this end, however, I trust that all who address the Conference will lend their assistance. It is not in the constitution of human

nature to sustain long a highly-excited state of feeling without an object to the attainment of which the energy thus awakened may be directed. In the name of multitudes throughout this country, I am sure I may address the influential Abolitionists here assembled to-day in such terms as these—“We have neither time nor heart for Anti-slavery sentimentalism; but tell us *what to do* in order to rid the world of Slavery and the slave-trade, and IT SHALL BE DONE.”

The Rev. P. H. CORNFORD, formerly a Missionary in Jamaica, made the following statement ON THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST-INDIA COLONIES, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY OF OUR EMANCIPATED COLONIES, AS AN EXAMPLE TO SLAVEHOLDING COMMUNITIES.

Having spent between ten and eleven years in labouring as a Baptist Missionary amongst the emancipated in the island of Jamaica, it is with no little interest I appear in the present Convention, to testify to the results of Emancipation from personal observation. Some who are present may possibly remember, from the notice it called forth at the time, the circumstances connected with the oppressive treatment of some *African Immigrants*, in which I was called by duty to take an active part in the year 1848, from which I may hope to be regarded at least not as a stranger to the *Anti-Slavery Society*. I cannot, however, disguise my conviction that the Anti-Slavery question does not rest for its support upon its accidental or commercial issues. Looking, as I do, upon the whole system of Slavery as an indefensible wrong—as the sin of sins, and the crime of crimes against God and man, involving in itself the whole extent of iniquity, I can never allow that it is a commercial question at all. It may, indeed, sometimes be advisable to shew the profitable consequences of right-doing; but when challenged thus on *this* question, I am ever ready to exclaim, “What have you to do with that? Would you affix a price to a virtue, or contend for the pecuniary value of a vice? Would you reduce common righteousness and justice to the rank of a marketable commodity, to be bought and sold? And if not, what place has such a question here?”

Yet, under protest, we may confidently meet all antagonists even on these low grounds. But if asked for the consequences of Emancipation, to whom is the inquiry to refer? Emancipation, as I understand it, was designed primarily for the people unrighteously held in bondage; and to them we have the right chiefly to point in declaring what liberty has done. For them a price was paid. Against them the complaints which reach you are constantly directed. I can therefore testify to the unquestionable elevation and advancing improvement of those whom Slavery had



so greatly degraded; but it is impossible not to remark that they are *what they are* in spite of the generality of the planters, rather than by their aid. The conduct of the planters has, to my knowledge, continually tended to *drive* the negroes from the estates. This assembly knows that there are attorneys and overseers standing between the English proprietors and the labouring people; and whatever may befall those on either hand, *these* gentry must and will make their own account. It is, then, no wonder if the people are tampered with, or that the attorneys and overseers retard the transit of profits on their own behalf. In some cases we had the embodiment of the Truck System, in the shop belonging to the overseer, to which, after weeks of labour, the people were sent with tickets exchangeable for salt-fish, rum, flour, oil, and other common commodities. Of course, this scheme met with resistance and indignant outcries of complaint—silenced in time by the overseer's artifice in absentsing himself from the estate. Thus, for a time only, success would crown the plan; but the natural result was, that the people would decline to work.

Another artifice, also, for awhile robbed the labourer and benefited the planter, to the ultimate retirement of the former from the scene. On surveying a piece of cane, it was arbitrarily resolved that the measurement of a certain number of chains should be accepted (and this only) as the "day's work." The people being duly assembled, the price *per day* for work upon a certain piece would be first agreed upon, at the termination of which, when all was apparently pleasantly concluded, the parting remark was thrown in, "*Remember, so many chains (say twenty-five or thirty) is your day's work.*" The people hear, and, perhaps, innocently enough assent, the most thoughtful at least supposing that he shall receive payment for all the work he may perform. But does he? No such thing. Each day's labour is first simply marked with a stake; and when the whole work is finished the line is produced, when only those days in which the full amount of labour has been given in the allotted time are reckoned as having any claim at all to compensation. All other days are cast utterly out of account, and all recompense for their labour is refused. Complaints have, on this account, been made to me by those who, after *three weeks* of labour, have been told they had nothing whatever to receive; and when, upon my intercession and remonstrance, a trifle has been given to each to silence their complaint, they have returned to thank me for the same, but declared they would "*never work for that person again.*" Who could wonder? Who complain of such a determination? I am certain no English employer would expect any other. Such annoyances as these, and others I could name, did time allow, have driven the labouring people

to consult their own independence of the estates. One man declared to me he had not an estate left within twelve miles round, against which he had not vowed *never* to work for the master again! Can any blame Emancipation if the people do not work? I am almost ready to affirm, that had not the people been previously abased as slaves, there had been now no hope for the Jamaica planter. Englishmen do not submit to such things. You have your combinations and strikes at home; but much as there has been to provoke them, you have hitherto heard of no *strikes* in Jamaica.

The degree of resistance offered does, however, induce the planter to endeavour to protect himself by immigration—a system by which he can apprentice labourers to himself for a series of years, and repeat the process until the home labourers are literally swamped. Having been compelled to interfere in arrest of the oppressions perpetrated upon poor Africans by this process, I can affirm that the planters' strife was to obtain their work without giving any thing like adequate remuneration, whilst he fed, and clothed, and lodged them as he pleased, coercing their labour with the whip.

For the moral condition of the population, we point you to the fact, that, when I left the island, one-sixth were connected by profession with Christian churches. Does England exhibit so cheering a fact? Connect with this that discipline which, in the generality of churches, excludes from membership for quarrelling, dancing, and unnecessary absence from the means of grace, then surely enough is proved of the moral condition of the people. And when the Baptist Missionary Society sent their deputation to Jamaica, they found the whole sum expended by the Society actually represented by existing property, as chapels, school-houses, mission residences, &c. Whence, then, came all the money for all the array of current expenditure, but *first from the labour*, and then from the liberality of the people? Whence, too, came the money with which so many have secured valuable, comfortable, and often nicely-furnished dwellings, in exchange for the dismal huts of Slavery? Whence came the money which has found them in houses, and made them such freeholders, that some families own their several acres of land? If they will not work, whence comes the money? The negro, surely, owns enough of that "*lust of gold*" which will always induce him to work if the payment be secure. For his degradation, there was *enough* in Slavery to degrade him; and even often to give to very vice the aspect of virtue. Falsehood, duplicity, theft, and evils innumerable, were so nurtured under that greatest of sins, it is no wonder if generations pass before these are eradicated. Yet the people will bear favourable comparison in many respects with any people upon earth. So secure have I felt among

them, that often my doors have been left unlocked at night. Housebreaking, indeed, was scarcely known to be committed by a black man for many years in the wide neighbourhood around me; and the offences with which they were charged were generally of the minor and comparatively trifling kind.

The great treadmill that was erected at or near Port Maria, under the apprehension that Emancipation would engender a vast amount of crime amongst the blacks, has never been used, which may be accepted as a testimony that their offences are of a most venial character. It is a gratifying and an encouraging fact, too, that the coloured population is gradually but surely rising. Black men occupy pulpits; black men fill important posts in the press, and take their places as legislators in the House of Assembly. In fact, it may be predicted that the day will come when the descendants of slaves shall possess the land tilled by their forefathers, and when no white man shall govern the islands.

On the commercial condition of the West Indies, allow me to say I know not why lands so luxuriantly prolific and fertile for every kind of tropical production should be so restricted to mere sugar cultivation. For example, why is indigo neglected, when it is growing wildly as a weed, and when it is known that the women in the time of Slavery were compelled to manufacture their own for washing purposes? There are broad uncultivated tracts which afford boundless resources, were the spirit of enterprise but once awakened, for the production of a vast variety of merchandise. However, of that which is produced, enough may be said to shew that the absentee proprietor is evidently prevented from receiving a due return for his money. How much is there withdrawn from him by the perquisites with which attorneys, overseers, and others enrich themselves, or sustain their extravagance? There is the Indian corn planted with the cane, weakening the young plant, and retarding its growth, all over those broad acres, notoriously yielding itself a perquisite to those who arrange between the owner of the estate and his returns. Here, too, is the stock, the private property, raised and fattened upon the pastures of the estate without the owner's knowledge, and yet at his expense. By these and other contrivances, proprietors are impoverished perpetually, whilst their representatives derive the profits due to themselves.

Emancipation is not chargeable with the burden of responsibilities such as these; but wholly discarding all the calculations which are connected, favourably or unfavourably, with the great subject, I feel persuaded that the moral features of the Anti-slavery question really require an earnest maintenance. I implore the *Anti-Slavery Society* not to be diverted from the great consideration, that nothing on earth can justify the ter-

rible crime they are leagued together to oppose. The man who claims property in his fellow-man should have no hearing; nor would I argue with him on the commercial aspect of the question. The crime is against all humanity, as well as treason against God; and if we set forth the successes of Emancipation, it is not that we allow the question has its foundation here. But for the condition of the people amongst whom I have sojourned, let the facts I have pointed to reply. Would that the English labourer could compare in independence and comfort with the West-Indian labourers I have known! We can—as I previously intimated—direct you now to black men amongst our schoolmasters—to black men in our pulpits—on the magistrates' bench—and amongst the representatives in the House of Assembly! On every side they rise to vindicate their claims to brotherhood. But for those who are yet enslaved the moral aspect of the question is that which demands our faithful, persevering, and unanimous assertion, as men on behalf of humanity, and as Christians in the name of God!

He would here just refer to the great waste on sugar-estates. He had seen a pamphlet entitled *Sugar, Slavery, and Emancipation*, published by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, in which the question appeared to have been fully discussed. He had read it attentively, and thought the statements were, in the main, correct, though the facts were very startling. He could add one more, which had come within his own experience. A friend of his in Jamaica hired a wharf, for which he paid a very high rent. The business carried on from it was not sufficient of itself to enable him to pay the rent, and yet he managed not only to do that, but to derive a handsome yearly income from it. He (Mr. Cornford) asked him how he did it, when he was informed that the profits arose from saving the molasses which drained from the hogsheads during the time they remained on the wharf and in the warehouse, awaiting shipment. Yet the whole of this profit ought to have found its way into the pocket of the planter (Hear, hear.)

The REV. THOMAS HENDERSON, from British Guiana, followed Mr. Cornford.

He thought a great deal too much was expected of the negro population, and that sufficient allowances were not made for the demoralizing influence of slavery upon them. He referred, at considerable length, and with some minuteness, to the numerous evils Slavery necessarily created amongst an enslaved population, many of which must necessarily cling to them, even after they had been sixteen years in possession of their rights. He could, however, state, on his own experience, and from a practical and a long acquaintance with them, formed after an extended residence in the colony of British Guiana—for he would confine his remarks to it—that wherever justice is done to the free labourer he



appreciates it, and generally becomes a respectable man, and a good member of society. But it could not be said that he had altogether a fair chance. Various laws existed in British Guiana, and, amongst others, he would mention the one commonly known as the Masters' and Servants' Act, which were of an oppressive character, and therefore tending to exercise a demoralizing influence upon the labouring population. In spite of these influences, no one could deny, with truth, that they are a rising people, and would bear favourable contrast with any other population in any other country, for integrity, industry, temperance, and general good conduct. Very large numbers of them had acquired land of their own, which they cultivated with success and profit.

The speaker here begged permission to read some extracts from the most recent reports of several magistrates residing in the colony, in confirmation of the statements he had made of the increasing regard of the negro population for education, and their progress in civilization. These extracts were of considerable length, and will be found, in substance, in another place.\*

The Chairman wished to know whether the value of property had fallen off since Emancipation, and whether, if this were the case, it was attributable to the passing of that Act.

Mr. HENDERSON said, that, to his own knowledge, where properties had been carefully and judiciously managed, they had greatly increased in value since Emancipation; but there was so much waste on the majority of sugar-estates, and so much mismanagement, that it was no wonder if they fell off in value. He thought, however, that the Act of Emancipation ought not to be charged with the results of such failures, for there could be no doubt they would have been as signal, and even more rapid, under a system of forced labour.

The Committee would call attention to the following summary of replies, to a series of questions which were addressed to Missionaries and other influential persons in the various British West-India Colonies, with a view to elicit information from them on the general condition of the labouring population.

The 1st Question proposed was:

*"What is generally, as far as you have been able to learn, the condition of the labouring class, physically?"*

JAMAICA.—The general condition of the people is good. Their cottages are comfortable, and the people usually appear well and decently clad. The interior of their houses does not usually present that amount of neatness and order that could be wished. They are, for the most part, healthy, thrifty, and

industrious. They subsist chiefly on vegetable diet. Very few get animal food more than once a week: salt fish is their usual aliment, with bread kind. Large numbers possess their own freeholds, consisting of from one to eight or ten acres of land, and often renting more.

DEMERARA.—The labouring population are, on the whole, in comfortable circumstances, and have the means of material comfort within their reach.

BERBICE.—The physical condition of the people is very good. They have plenty to eat and drink, and suitable clothing, and are generally able to make some provision for emergencies. Their houses are framed, raised on blocks, and floor boarded on the sides. Their dress is plain and neat. They cultivate provisions on their own grounds, which serve for family use: the remainder they take to market.

TRINIDAD.—The emancipated classes are very industrious, and have, by their steady habits and great economy, become extensive possessors of the soil.

BARBADOES.—Generally healthy and robust, and much improved in their appearance since emancipation.

ANTIGUA.—Generally good, and may be said to be improving.

St. Kitt's.—Very good. Their habitations are continually improving. They dress in decent clothing, and are anxious to increase their domestic comforts.

2d. *"What are their ordinary habits with respect to temperance, public order, industry, their religious duties, and education?"*

JAMAICA.—The uniform testimony goes to shew that one of the great evils in the way of the advancement of the people, is the multiplication of grog-shops throughout the island. Rum is the principal liquor consumed; and although there is not much open drunkenness, it is certain that the practice of "tipping" is only too general. The emancipated classes are uniformly obedient to the laws of the country, and are industrious, when fairly treated. The attendance at the various places of worship is very good; but the desire for education, although increasing, is very much below what might be desired.

DEMERARA.—Most of the people who are brought under religious influence, are abstainers from all intoxicating drinks. The general population, however, drink considerable quantities of liquor. Grog-shops are numerous, and are too much frequented. The negroes who are addicted to rum, drink large quantities without appearing to be much affected by it. As a general rule, the people are industrious. Large numbers of them are farmers, renting portions of land for the purpose of raising plantains, ground provisions, and coffee.

BERBICE.—Since rum stores have been, by law of the land, allowed to be established, they have become a source of great temptation to the

\* See replies to letter from the West Indies.

people. The habit of drinking has become pretty general, but drunkenness is rare.

TRINIDAD.—They are very temperate, and in that respect are in advance of persons in other countries in the same condition of life.

BARBADOES.—Their ordinary habits will bear a favourable comparison with any other country. Their attendance on public worship is very creditable, and their attention to their religious duties is as good as can be expected, considering their late degraded condition: they have, however, not yet learned to set a proper value on the blessings of education.

ANTIGUA.—As a class, they are temperate, observant of public order, and industrious: large numbers are members of the Moravian and Wesleyan Churches, where their children are instructed in the Day and Sunday Schools. Most of their children are able to read the Bible, and many can write.

ST. KITT'S.—Great numbers have embraced the principles of Christian abstinence, and the happiest results have followed. The people are so remarkable for submission to law and just authority, that there is no fear of any commotion, though the troops are withdrawn from the island. They are unquestionably industrious. They are also attentive to religious duties. As to education, there are very many who are willing to make any sacrifice in order to secure it. All wish their children to be instructed; but some are too ready to keep them from school in order to obtain wages by their work in the fields. There are considerable numbers of young men and women, and some of ripe years, who can read and write; and a large proportion are laudably striving to obtain a better acquaintance with arithmetic, grammar, and general knowledge.

3d. *"Are Women and Children employed to any extent in field labour?"*

JAMAICA.—Women and children are very generally employed on the estates, particularly during crop season.

This is said of all the colonies.

4th. *"What is the average rate of wages they receive?"* 5th. *"Do they consider such rate an adequate remuneration for the labour they give?"*

JAMAICA.—Men 1s.; Women 9d.; Children 6d. per diem; Masons, 2s. to 2s. 6d.; Carpenters the same. The remuneration is not considered sufficient.

DEMERARA.—Average rate of wages 1s. 4d. per day: but few disputes as to remuneration.

BERBICE.—The same.

TRINIDAD.—1s. to 1s. 3d. per day. Appear satisfied.

BARBADOES.—7½d. per day may be taken as the average, but during the reaping of the crop they receive from 2½d. to 5d. per day in addition. Task work is generally considered more advan-

tageous to labourers. The rate of wages is not considered satisfactory.

ANTIGUA.—6d. to 8d. per day, and dissatisfied with the amount.

ST. KITT'S.—Adults 6d., Children 4d. per day. The wages generally are considered too low.

6th. *"Do they shew any desire to become freeholders, and to occupy a higher position in society?"*

The invariable answer to the first part of the question is Yes; and very large numbers already possess from one to ten acres. There are only two classes properly considered in the colonies, the planter and the labourer. The labourer seeks to improve his condition as a labourer, without aiming to become a planter.

7th. *"Do any of them cultivate the cane, and if so, to what extent, and how do they dispose of their produce, and of what does that produce consist besides canes?"*

JAMAICA.—The cane is cultivated to a limited extent, chiefly for domestic use, and to supply a neighbour. In the mountain districts, however, in some instances, from seven to eight acres are cultivated. The mills are driven by one or two horses. Coffee, pimento, yams, cassava, are also cultivated.

DEMERARA.—They do not cultivate the cane. The chief articles raised are yams, cassava, and, in some places, coffee.

BERBICE.—The same.

TRINIDAD.—Chiefly provisions. When the cane is cultivated, it is manufactured on a neighbouring estate, and the sugar obtained divided between the cultivator and the manufacturer.

BARBADOES.—About one-fifteenth of the crop is raised by the labourers. They get the canes manufactured into sugar by neighbouring proprietors, who receive one third or one fourth, as a remuneration.

ANTIGUA.—The cane has been cultivated to some extent, but the amount of cultivation is diminishing. The sugar is usually sold to the merchants. Yams and potatoes are also cultivated.

ST. KITT'S.—A goodly number cultivate the cane to the extent of a few barrels or hogsheads. Many others cultivate for half the produce. The produce is purchased by island residents, or shipped to England. They also raise yams, sweet potatoes, tous-les-mois, cassava &c.

8th. *"Do they rent their cottages and land on equitable terms when they are not their own property, as far as you can ascertain?"*

JAMAICA.—But few rent cottages: when they do, it is on equitable terms.

DEMERARA.—Similar statement.

BERBICE.—Labourers attached to estates live rent-free.

TRINIDAD.—Similar statement.

BARBADOES.—Rents are too high.



ANTIGUA.—Equitably rented.

St. Kitt's.—Ibid.

9th. *"Is there any indisposition to work for the planters; and if so, to what cause is it attributable?"*

There is no such indisposition where they are regularly paid and kindly treated.

This is the universal testimony in relation to the whole of the West Indies.

10th. *"What is the general feeling exhibited towards them by the planters and the whites?"*

JAMAICA.—The respectable portion of the planters, the whites, feel very kindly towards the people; but this class is not numerous, and the major part, it must be owned, treat the people with little respect or consideration.

DEMERARA.—BERBICE.—TRINIDAD.—The same as in other colonies.

BARBADOES.—The effects of the baneful system of Slavery are still to be seen: both parties, however, are beginning to learn that their interests are reciprocal.

ANTIGUA.—A spirit of kindness is rather the exception than the rule,

St. Kitt's.—Some are respectful, kind, and courteous; but too many exhibit a spirit of domination.

11th. *"Is there still any marked prejudice against them on account of colour and caste; and if so, how does it manifest itself?"*

JAMAICA.—Some prejudice exists, but not to so great an extent as formerly. The prejudice on the part of the brown towards the black is greater than on the part of the white towards either.

DEMERARA.—BERBICE.—Little or no prejudice exists.

TRINIDAD.—Prejudice exists, but it manifests itself in many ways, which are difficult to describe.

The same may also be said in regard to BARBADOES, ANTIGUA, and St. Kitt's.

12th. *"What is the general condition of the population in the town as compared with that of the country communities?"*

JAMAICA.—BERBICE.—Very greatly in favour of the latter, both in position and morals.

TRINIDAD.—No observable difference.

BARBADOES.—Like all town populations they are subject to greater temptations to vice and immorality: hence the country-people are more moral, and generally in easier circumstances.

ANTIGUA.—St. Kitt's.—No marked difference.

13th. *"How are the labouring population affected by the introduction of immigrants?"*

JAMAICA.—The introduction of immigrants has been so gradual, and the number so few, and the mortality among them so great, that the labour-market has been but little influenced thereby. The greatest evil connected with immi-

gration schemes has been the increase of taxation, which bears heavily on the labouring population.

DEMERARA.—They are not affected to any extent by immigration. Neither the Coolies nor the Chinese associate much with the black people. The Africans soon become one with them, and attend at the different places of worship and also send their children to school.

BERBICE.—They suffer through increased taxation.

TRINIDAD.—A considerable reduction has taken place in the wages of the people in consequence.

BARBADOES.—No immigration, there being a large native population equal to the wants of the planters.

14th. *"To what extent is the coloured population employed in civil offices?"*

JAMAICA.—To a considerable extent in unpaid offices. They have also secured a position in Her Majesty's Council, in the Assembly, and on the judicial bench. They are local magistrates, coroners, clerks of vestries, &c., and some of them fill their stations with credit to themselves, and with benefit to the country. Indeed, there is no office in the land that is not held by coloured people, save "Bishop and Governor."

DEMERARA.—To a very small extent.

BERBICE.—They are appointed to all such offices as they are capable of occupying.

TRINIDAD.—The coloured people employed by the Government seldom if ever get into offices of any worth.

BARBADOES.—Very limited indeed, and the authorities seem determined not to concede to them any thing that can safely be withheld: there are not more than six or eight persons employed in civil offices.

ANTIGUA.—To a limited extent.

St. Kitt's.—One-third of the House of Assembly are coloured: many are magistrates and legislators. Two of the most important offices in the colony—Provost Marshal and Coroner—are filled by coloured gentlemen.

15th. *"Are they holders of property, either in land or money, and to what extent? And have those who had landed property increased it?"*

JAMAICA.—From one to twelve acres. Those who have held property for any period are increasing it.

BERBICE.—The people have acquired thousands of acres, and continue to add to the amount of their property.

TRINIDAD.—Obnoxious laws have been passed which have checked the acquirement of property by the labouring population.

BARBADOES.—There are many holders of property in land, houses, and capital, to a moderate amount, and a few large landed proprietors, and generally a great disposition to augment.

**ANTIGUA.**—Small freeholders generally. They are too poor to be able to buy land now. The average individual holdings of land do not exceed two acres in extent.

**St. Kitt's.**—Increasing in a similar proportion to the whites.

*Statistics of crimes, education, religion, &c.*

In answer to this query, the Committee were referred to the Annual Reports of the Governors, published under the authority of Parliament. They think it highly important to observe, in reference to the number of commitments embraced under the criminal returns, that the largest majority of them are for offences of an extremely trivial kind—petty larcenies and such like; and that many of these offences would be scarcely punishable in this country.

With regard to the attendance at places of public worship, the returns contrast favourably with those contained in the last religious census of Great Britain.

It may be also stated respecting education, that the attendance of children at the various public schools, all circumstances considered, will be found to present a highly encouraging feature in the present history of the colonies. That it is not so large as could be desired, is true; but it must be borne in mind, that children of tender years are sent out to work in the fields, and that the wages they earn, though small, influence their parents to employ them thus, rather than send them to school.

**JAMAICA.**—The school returns do not state the numbers of scholars, even at the Church of England Schools, and give no indication whatever of the numbers educated by the Baptist, London Missionaries, and others who refuse State support.

	Scholars.
Church of England . . . . .	6709
Moravians . . . . .	3054
Wesleyans . . . . .	1874
Hebrews . . . . .	53
Free Schools and others . . . . .	1102
	<hr/> 12,792

The criminal statistics are too incomplete to ground any correct statement upon them.

**BRITISH GUIANA.**—The entire population of British Guiana, according to the census taken in 1851, was 127,695; of whom 14,266 were children under 5 years of age, and 25,467 between 5 and 15. The total number of children under instruction in the Colony is 8·517 per cent., and the average attendance is 5·964 of the entire population; or, to take a fairer view, the total number under instruction is 9·209 per cent.; and the average daily attendance is 6·448 per cent. of that portion of the population which is sufficiently concentrated to support schools. To the children between the ages of 5 and 15, the total number

under instruction bears the proportion of 45·873 per cent., and the average daily attendance of 32·120 per cent.

The criminal returns for the last five years, shew the following number of commitments:

1848 . . . . .	3691
1849 . . . . .	3409
1850 . . . . .	2750
1851 . . . . .	2702
1852 . . . . .	2090

**BARBADOES.**—The defective state of the ecclesiastical returns renders it impossible to ascertain whether there has been an aggregate increase or decrease in the average attendance at the churches; but in the Church schools, which alone are returned, there has been an increase in the numbers who have been under instruction.

The prison returns exhibit a small increase in the number of offences, attributable to the repeal of a law, which required, in certain minor cases, the payment of a dollar on the issue of complaint warrants.

**ANTIGUA.**—No system of common education is maintained. The maintenance and superintendence of schools is consequently left with the ministers of each denomination. There has been no falling off from the total average number of children returned as attending day-schools for the preceding five years. These numbers give a proportion of 14½ per cent. on the population. There has been, during the last, some increase in the class of misdemeanants on the average of five years.

**St. Vincent.**—The number of attendants at the public schools has fallen from 1945 in the previous year to 1635. It is not easy to account for this. The extended cultivation of arrow-root may have had some effect in drawing from school children fitted for this light labour.

In the absence of any particular statistics, we give the following testimony of the Lieutenant-Governor, who has served his allotted period of six years as President of the island:

“When we turn to the great body of the native population, it is beyond all dispute that it has been the subject of progressive melioration, both moral and physical. In treating of the negro people as here existing, it must never be forgotten, that seventeen years only have now run their course since they were emancipated from a state absolutely opposed to all improvement; and with this in view, I record not only my satisfaction, but a feeling of joyful surprise at the advances made by them during the six years to which my observation and experience have extended. As a general rule, they possess, beyond all reasonable question, most of the essential elements of progress, and, in a pre-eminent degree, natural intelligence and quickness of perception, sharpened by a praiseworthy desire to better their



condition, somewhat controlled in action, indeed, by the indolence incident to a tropical climate, by the facilities for acquiring a comfortable subsistence, and by dilatory habits thereupon accruing."

**ST. LUCIA.**—There are eight free schools, viz. seven Mico and one Government school, in this island, together with two infant schools; but the average number of scholars who attend those schools by no means corresponds with the facilities for education which those schools afford, or the expense at which they are sustained.

It is a gratifying feature in the report of the jail inspector to find that, as compared with the preceding year, there had been a decrease of prisoners in the royal jail to the number of 51. In 1851 the number of inmates was 316; in 1852, 265.

**TOBAGO.**—The position of the island, with reference to religious and secular education, has been supported, and the present returns shew a considerable increase in the number of persons attending churches, chapels, and schools. The number of scholars attending schools was, in 1851, 1778, or 12·3 of the population; in 1852, 1994, or 13·4.

**MONTSEERAT.**—The attendance at places of worship and at the schools has rather increased, but there is, unfortunately, great apathy on the part of parents in sending their children regularly. There has been no commission of heinous crimes, and the general habits of the people are orderly and well conducted.

**PAPER READ BY MONSIEUR VICTOR SCHËLCHER, ON THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE FRENCH WEST-INDIA COLONIES.**

Ladies and Gentlemen—It is quite in accordance with the objects of the present meeting that you should wish to ascertain what have been the results of Emancipation in the French colonies. I will endeavour to fulfil that task, and you will, I hope, allow me to read what I have to say on the subject, as, from my very imperfect knowledge of the English language, I could not otherwise make myself sufficiently understood.

I know how valuable is your time, and I will not, therefore, waste it by any preliminaries.

Before the year 1848, a group of men, belonging to all political opinions, but united in the holy cause of humanity, laboured in France in favour of the abolition of Slavery. Thanks to the efforts of those who were also members of the French Houses of Parliament, they had succeeded, during the previous ten years, in carrying several Bills intended for the improvement of the condition of the slaves; but the planters, emboldened by the indifference of the Government, set those laws at defiance. On the other hand, the French Houses of Parliament were frightened by the idea of the indemnity in case of emancipation, and they

therefore constantly hesitated to take any decisive step, notwithstanding the glorious example given by Great Britain in 1836, and notwithstanding, also, the crimes committed by masters against slaves, the narration of which too often caused shudderings of horror throughout the country.

Meanwhile broke out the revolution of February. Generous, grand, humane, above all, the fate of the slaves called forth its immediate attention. All the liberties are sisters, as all the despotisms are accomplices: it is a law of *solidarité* which governs the world more than people are generally aware of. The Provisional Government did not delay the satisfaction which was due to the dignity of mankind. They instantly abolished, throughout all the French territories, an institution which dishonours still more a republic (you will allow a republican to say so,) than it does any other form of Government. They decreed the abolition of Slavery, with the abolition of the punishment of death, and also that of corporeal punishment—all remains of barbarous ages which still disgraced our code.

They emancipated the slaves all at once, and without transition, because, having studied the experiment of apprenticeship in your colonies, they knew the dangers it involved; because they were convinced that, in such cases, preparatory means prepare only difficulties and hatred; because in Slavery there can exist no possible progress towards liberty, as there can exist in no combination whatever of evil a step towards good.

The Provisional Government, however, did not carry out lightly so important a measure. They attentively sought the means of making it advantageous to all, without danger for any one; and the decrees which relate to it were well framed to conciliate the liberty restored to the slaves with what rights might belong to the former masters, and especially with labour, which is the first want of all societies, and which constitutes the essence of civilization.

Shortness of time prevents me explaining the detail of those decrees. I will only say, that on the spot, and in presence of the unavoidable difficulties inherent to all great social changes, the planters themselves, before they were excited by the spirit of resistance, declared that the Provisional Government had acted wisely. Their most impassioned newspaper, when the decrees were published in the Antilles, in June 1848, contained the following lines: "We do not hesitate to proclaim that the decrees for the abolition of Slavery, such as they are, and carried into effect by a prudent and courageous administration, contain all the chief elements of a good solution of the colonial question. Let us do them justice, and let us say, that of all the acts of the Provisional Government, this is the only one which has come out in a complete form."

Even the restriction contained in these last words is an additional praise of those decrees; not that I find that restriction a just one, but because it shews that the praise emanates from men who are not very fanatical admirers of the Provisional Government, a servant of which I shall ever feel proud to have been."

The act of emancipation was, in fact, very fortunate; the slaves greeted it with delight, and in perfect order, and not the slightest disturbance occurred. We may proclaim, as a truth added to the principle of human perfectibility, that liberty elevates the mind, and mizes; for liberty is the right of all, and the self-respect of every one. It is that light without which man cannot find the real paths of good. The governments which confiscate the liberties of the people are always immoral and hateful governments, and they ought to be shunned by all, as criminals are.

Some will say, perhaps, that a fatal collision took place at Martinique. I must hasten to say that this happened in May 1848, when Slavery was still in existence: it can only be attributed to the effervescence which the consequence of the revolution of February had produced in an island where the rigours of Slavery had created violent hatreds. This beginning of a civil war was fortunately quelled at its origin, through the intervention of the free coloured men, to the admirable behaviour of whom the planters did ample justice. The written testimonials of it will ever exist, and later dissensions cannot erase them.

Unfortunately, the good dispositions with which the planters had received the decrees of Abolition did not last. Like all other persons deprived of privileges which they possessed, the planters regretted what they were losing, and wished to retain at least the preponderance. They began by waging war against the Mulattoes whom the revolution had naturally carried to office: they obtained their dismissal, and charged the whole class of them with the intention of expelling the white population, in order to oppress in their turn the former slaves. This is what they called the plot of substitution. The Mulattoes, however, did nothing more than vindicate a real equality, and support their emancipated brothers in the rights which belonged to them. Thence arose between the two classes a division which became wider and more envenomed day after day.

Captain Layrle, of the French navy, who had been sent, in 1840, to the English colonies, by the French Government, in order to study the results of the Bill of 1837, witnessed there a similar conflict, and has expressed his opinion in the following words: "The blame does not lie with the men of colour." I make the same assertion as to what happened in our colonies.

But there was another evil besides. The former masters, spoilt by the use of the absolute power

which they had enjoyed, grew impatient at having to discuss on equal terms with their former slaves, matters of wages and labour. They felt angry, especially, at meeting with resistance to their exigencies on the part of men whom they had been accustomed to command with lashes. Here, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel perplexed. Though the former masters, who enjoy alone now the advantage of expressing their opinion in newspapers, do not shrink from attacking daily their adversaries, who have no means of answering them, yet I hesitate to attack them in their absence. However, if I wish to fulfil the task I have here undertaken, I must say what I think the truth. It is, that the former masters have not shewn a sufficient respect for the liberty of the negroes, and have sought too much to obtain means of restraint. This is a serious charge; but I bring it forward on the authority of a man—M. Bayle-Mouillard—who occupied, at Guadeloupe, the highest judicial post—that of Attorney-General. This high functionary, faithful to his duty, wished to preserve an equal balance of justice between the parties, and, in consequence of this, he was violently expelled from the colony by the Governor (Colonel Fieron), who was in former time a slaveholder, and entirely devoted to the abettors of Slavery. The Minister of Justice, though enlightened as to the motives of such an expulsion, had not the courage to send back the honourable magistrate to his former post; but, to make amends for it, he appointed him to a high judicial office in one of the most important towns of France, where, on taking possession of his seat, M. Bayle-Mouillard made a speech in which we notice the following sentence: "Some former masters in the colonies seek for a reprovable constraint. They dream of I know not what system of compulsory labour, and they declaim against the magistrate who refuses to replace the whip of the overseer by the hand of dishonoured law."

While M. Fiéron, the governor of Guadeloupe, was expelling the first magistrate of the island, he was, at the same time, sending on board ship the bishop, who had likewise refused to make his holy ministry subservient to compulsory labour.

I enter into these details in order to shew you that I am not exaggerating. Such unheard-of violence committed against men occupying such high offices may give you an idea of the degree of reactionary passion, and of the fatal compliance which it met with.

It is, unfortunately, too true that the planters have not been wise enough to submit themselves to look on the emancipated slaves as their equals, or, at least, to behave to them as such. They admitted the principle of abolition, but they would not admit its logical consequences; they looked on equality as adverse to their interests, and contrary to their dignity. Time has not weakened those opinions. Pride of caste, however ridiculous it may be, of all the



maladies which afflict mankind, is one of the longest to cure. I found a curious proof of it, a few days since, in perusing the papers of Martinique.

A traveller pretends that he has seen at Mecca a man with a tail. This man, says he, who eats no other food but some raw mutton every morning, belongs to a tribe of the interior of Africa, called the *Niams-niams*. I am rather inclined to believe that the man with a tail is of the same sort as the ants as big as oxen, seen by Herodotus. But such is not the case with my countrymen in the colonies. One of them immediately discovered there a new class of immigrants to set to work, and he very seriously wrote a letter, which was inserted in the *Journal de la Martinique*, of the 16th of October last—"Speculation," he says, "has, in this discovery, a rich mine to work upon. Let them bring us *Niam-niams*; they will easily get used to the climate: the disparity between their confirmation and ours will keep from their thoughts and from their mouths all those dissonant pretensions of equality, of which such misuse is daily made. They will not constantly answer us, 'I am as much as you.'"

"I am as much as you." There is the explanation of all. It is because the blacks have had the independence to say, according to the motto of Anti-Slavery Societies, "Am I not a man? Am I not as much as you?" that the French colonies have had such disturbances.

I cannot enter here into the narrative of these disturbances. Suffice it to say, that the party of resistance had the idea of attributing any fire, however small, to a plot which they called the plot of fire-raising, and which was supposed to be introduced to drive all the white population from the islands by means of ruin and terror. The wickedness of some, and the blindness of the greater number, were carried so far, that they were not satisfied with incriminating as the chiefs of the plot the Abolitionists who, in France, were defending the cause of the emancipated slaves; they even accused Admiral Bruat, Governor-General of the Antilles, and the Colonial Minister himself, of being accomplices of the supposed fire-raisers, because they did not readily accede to all the violent measures which were required of them. Alas! they even went further still. Under pretence of striking terror on the supposed fire-raisers, and of laying hold of them more easily, martial law was proclaimed in Guadeloupe, and a court-martial sentenced to death an unfortunate negro, who was executed, notwithstanding his evident innocence. I do not hesitate to term that execution a judicial murder, similar to those of Sidney and Lord Russell, similar to those which abound in the history of all counter-revolutions.

Limited by space and time, I cannot lay before you the proofs of all I say, but I affirm

most positively, Ladies and Gentlemen, that I attest nothing without authentic proofs: they are recorded in books which I will place in the hands of those who wish to ascertain the facts.

I could not, nor would not, dissemble those painful events. Truth compels me to state them; and if I had attempted to spare you the sad narrative, I should have been accused of concealing them as misfortunes inherent to the holy cause of emancipation. Such is not the case. The disturbances in our Antilles followed emancipation, but they were not a direct consequence of it. They did not take place on the ground of the abolition of Slavery, or of the measures relating to it; our adversaries even never said so. They were the result of political causes, of which too many examples are seen on the continent; they have always appeared in every state of society where two contrary principles are opposed to each other.

It is to be said, besides, that the reactionary metropolitan Government must bear the chief blame in all this. The planters are men, and, like men, they obeyed a certain selfishness of human nature, which, when badly directed, makes us seek our own private advantage, regardless of that of others. Deprived of a power which they had enjoyed for centuries, they wished to reconquer it. The duty of the central Government was to bring them back to more equitable ideas, by wise and firm measures, as the English ministry had done when they met with similar tendencies. Instead of this, our Government not only replaced by whites all the mulattoes and negroes on whom the revolution had conferred public offices, but reinstated also in office those functionaries who, before abolition, had shewn the greatest prejudice against the slaves, and whom the revolution had very naturally removed. The consequences of that were most deplorable, and could not be otherwise. The recently-appointed functionaries, and those restored to office, were thus transformed into partymen, who sacrificed every thing to the triumphers: they lost the first apauage of authority, the confidence and respect of those under their jurisdiction. One class looked on them as agents whose services they might command, the other class dreaded them as enemies.

It is almost needless to add that the present Government of France strengthened the power of the colonial oligarchy. To-day all conflict has ceased: the former masters rule peaceably, and the emancipated vanquished.

They are much to be pitied. No authorities whatever interfere in their favour, no protecting magistrate is placed between them and the owners of the land. The local administration seems only busy in making them feel the weight of their liberty, as if they wished to punish them for being free. Many, to secure their perfect independence, cultivated

vegetables and stores of ready consumption: a heavy tax was put on land cultivated in that way. A decree of the 13th of February 1852 compels all cultivators, possessing nothing, to contract, whether they will or not, an engagement of labour on a plantation. Those who attempted to resist were put in prison, the others yielded. The planters call this a very civilizing decree, because it masters, as they say, "the native idleness of the negroes." Since the negroes are sentenced to compulsory labour, it is quite rational that they should be accused of native idleness. It is the first homage paid to the eternal sanctity of justice, that those who violate it, endeavour to excuse themselves in their own eyes and in those of others. Any negro, who is met on a high road, or in town, without an authorization of his employer, or a passport, called passport for the interior, is liable to be arrested as a vagrant, just the same as it was in the time of Slavery when he had not got a ticket from his master. The only difference is, that to-day he has to pay for that blessed passport. The treasury purveyors, whose ingenious inventions are universally known, have devised all sorts of taxes, which only crush the poor, without bringing in any thing worthy of notice. For instance, besides the personal tax, which is a very rational one, they have invented a tax on all sorts of industry, even of the most inferior kind. So the black who has already paid the personal tax, and the tax on the land on which he grows vegetables, is again called upon to pay for a licence if he chooses to come to market to sell his vegetables, besides the price of his passport, without which he is not allowed to stir!

Even education has become a fiscal measure, and a means of restraint. The provisional Government wished to open the paths of intellectual life to the emancipated class by education, at the same time as civic life was opened to them by freedom. Considering that men, who, only the day before, were slaves, might not, perhaps, be alive to the importance of instruction for their children, they had made education compulsory, but had, at the same time, prescribed the establishment of gratuitous schools everywhere, in the country as well as in the towns, following in that the admirable dispositions taken in your colonies. At the present time, schools are yet compulsory, but they are no more gratuitous. A father is still compelled to send his child to school, but he must pay a sum of sixty francs a year in advance; and if he is poor, in order to pay he must contract an engagement on a plantation, that is to say, bind his own independence, or else go to prison; after which his child is admitted in the school for two hours a day, not more. The administration agrees with the planters to say that it is quite enough for a black. It is true that they say, at the same time, that the intelligence of the black race is in-

ferior to that of the white one. You see what a compensation!

Of all the impositions with which the emancipated slaves are loaded, in order to press them for the service of the plantations, the most revolting is that of immigration. They are obliged so to give their money to introduce foreign labourers, intended as a competition against them, as a means of diminishing their own earnings. These immigrations, besides, have all the characteristics of the trade in human cargoes. A reserve of expressions is not even cared for. You find in the newspapers advertisements such as these: "To dispose of, the engagements of 140 Indian cultivators, the greater part of whom are men of *prime choice*." Another day you are offered "the engagement of 400 Indians who are expected to arrive soon," and on whose account, says the advertisement, the captain of the ship writes thus: "I bring a *handsome and complete cargo*; I have only men of *prime choice*." You will not be surprised after this to hear that those men of prime or second choice are bid for by auction, that they are transferred from one person to another like brutes, and that even by decision of the judges; for the French Government has always its direct share in all the colonial evils. I have read in a newspaper of the Island of Bourbon: "JUDICIAL ADVERTISEMENTS—Transfer of engagements of Indians by decision of the Court—It is made known to the public, that on Thursday, the 28th day of June 1831, in the Court of the Town-hall of St. Denis, will take place the transfer by the ministry of M. Gamin, auctioneer, of the labour of 93 Indians, who were on the plantation of M. Séré."

Those hateful episodes of immigration seem to me to be inseparable from the thing itself, though, in the beginning, I have seen them avoided in the English colonies. To say the truth, they are not men who are now imported in our colonial possessions; they are tools with human faces, handles of hoes, as the slaves were formerly termed. The misfortune is, that the former masters wish always to have instruments of cultivation of which they may dispose arbitrarily, instead of having free cultivators. There is, however, but one means of securing in the future the quietness and the prosperity of the colonies—it is to make real men of the negroes who are there, who are accustomed to the climate, and who form the agricultural and productive population of the country; to turn them into *bona fide* citizens, who, having their share in the general welfare, by comfort, equality, liberty, and education, will, as one might say, incorporate themselves with the general interest. Man must feel interested in the land he cultivates, to think of cultivating himself. The planters are not only doing a thing wrong in itself, but they injure their own interests by doing so. They undermine the foundations of wealth by wishing to



become rich too rapidly and without trouble; they are killing the goose that lays golden eggs. What are, for a country, those new labourers, yet in a state of nature, and who do their work like cattle and horses? Nothing of any moral, that is, of any real use; they render material services, like cattle and horses, that is all; but they leave nothing after them when they disappear; they are not even consumers whilst they are there. In a well-organized society there must be not only producers but consumers also. Let them, besides, cease to come, from one cause or other, and the fields will remain in irremediable barrenness. Bad inclinations, in spite of what may be said, are not always good politics. The fruits of selfishness are like those of the garden of the Hesperides, splendid to view, but full of ashes to the taste.

Notwithstanding the dark picture which I have had to trace, we must be far from despairing of the French colonies. Slavery, the great evil, is for ever abolished. A new constitution has been lately made for those colonies, the first line of which is—Slavery shall never be re-established. Such a declaration shews what power Emancipation possesses in modern opinions, and how well it answers the inspirations of the age.

Nothing, then, is lost in the French Antilles; freedom has spread there imperishable roots. No doubt the emancipated classes are oppressed; in fact, as this unfortunately is the case also with many of the European populations; but, in right, they are free, and that liberty which is theirs for ever, they will recover it when the mother-country recovers its own. This will happen sooner or later, there is no doubt of it, for the history of the world teaches, to encourage us in our efforts and comfort us in our sufferings, that it is the essence of evil to be temporary, and the essence of good to be everlasting.

Conscious of my insufficiency, I am afraid I have already taken up too much of your time; and I am anxious to listen, in my turn, to men who are more entitled to your attention. Yet I beg leave to add a few words more. It has been written lately, that the republican leaders, refugees in England, had declared that they were disposed to overlook the question of Slavery in the United States. Though I have not the pretension of being a leader, yet, as a refugee, and in presence of such a meeting, I feel the want of protesting publicly against that assertion. I affirm solemnly that it rests on no ground. Every democrat in Europe is determined, at any cost, to raise his voice against the servile institution which still sullies the United States. We are all interested in it, we who believe in *solidarité*, for Slavery in a Republic is, at the same time, a shame, and a danger for the democratic doctrines. Slavery exercises a corrupting action on all that surrounds it; those who have no direct share in it require a peculiar strength of

mind to screen themselves from its fatal influence; those who are weak cannot resist it. If the manners have become milder in modern Europe, it is because the triumph of the principle of liberty has suppressed the possession of man by man. All the nations which have not yet enjoyed that blessing are more or less in a state of barbarity. In the United States, notwithstanding their admirable constitution, Slavery, which still exists in the Southern States, poisons the whole Republic. You will meet, even in the free States, public writers who will maintain that the servitude of a whole race of men is a perfectly legitimate thing! I have noticed in New York almost as much prejudice of colour as in New Orleans. In the eyes of republicans, all aristocracy is contrary to common sense; and yet, owing to the deleterious infiltrations of servitude, here are sincere and ardent republicans who accept the most childish and the most absurd of all aristocracies, the aristocracy of the skin: they grant or deny to a man his own self-possession according to his cuticle being white or black! We will never cease, therefore, to exalt the intrepid American Abolitionists, and to encourage them in their efforts; for on the day of their triumph they will wash out a stain on our common standard, they will overthrow the last stronghold which Slavery still possesses in the world, they will free mankind of the greatest insult which it has ever had to bear.

In reply to a question, Mr. Schoelcher stated that compensation had been awarded to the slaveholders in the French colonies, chiefly, he thought, because our Act of Emancipation had proceeded upon the same principle. In fact, the basis of the Act framed by the British Parliament had served as the foundation for the one passed by the Provisional Government, for the amount of compensation had been regulated by it. The sum awarded was 120,000,000 of francs, or £4,800,000 sterling.

The SECRETARY begged permission to state a few facts bearing on the subject, which he had procured from official sources during a recent visit to the Continent. It would excite no surprise that the production of the staple article of export, Sugar, should have fallen off from the French colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guiana, during a certain time, to the extent of very nearly fifty per cent.; but it might be cited as a remarkable illustration of the vitality of free-labour, that from 1851 the rate of production had been increasing, and that increase had been more rapid than the falling off. In Martinique it exceeded, in 1853, the production of 1847—the year before Emancipation, and a very fruitful season—some twenty per cent. In Guadeloupe the excess was one-tenth over the production of 1848, and was equal in 1852 to the crop of 1846. There were political causes

which had caused a very large and permanent decline in Guiana. Here, in 1846, 1847, and 1848, the crops had been respectively in each year, two thousand, three thousand, and two thousand tons. In 1849 and 1850 they fell to one thousand tons; did not reach one thousand tons in 1851, and, in 1852 and 1853, had dropped respectively to three hundred and thirty-five tons, and to two hundred and seventy-one tons. In the island of Bourbon, however, as in our own island adjacent, the Mauritius, the production had immensely augmented. In 1846, 1847, and 1848, the crop had been respectively nineteen thousand, twenty-one thousand, and seventeen thousand tons. In 1849 it was only sixteen thousand tons; in 1850 it reached eighteen thousand tons; in 1851 fell to fourteen thousand tons—owing to drought it seemed—but in 1852 and 1853 it rose to twenty-eight thousand and twenty-seven thousand tons. One of the most interesting facts, however, which more than any other might be accepted as an indication of the material prosperity and improved habits of the free population was, that there had been since 1848 a remarkable increase in the value of the importations from foreign parts into all those colonies—even including Guiana—which of course proved that there had arisen an augmented demand for European commodities, manufactures, &c. In Martinique the increase amounted, in 1851, to six millions of francs over and above the estimated value in 1846; to eight millions over that of 1847; to twenty-one millions over that of 1848; to eight millions over that of 1849, and to ten millions over that of 1850. Guadaloupe had increased very largely also, though not to the same extent; and Guiana had likewise kept pace with the other colonies, as had the island of Bourbon. With regard to the moral and social condition of the people, the accounts agreed very nearly with those we used to receive from our own colonies, during the first ten years after the Act of Emancipation had passed. Whilst it could not be denied that they were yet under the demoralizing influence of Slavery, on the other hand there was abundant evidence of progress, and the friends of humanity might safely point to the present position of the French colonies, and to the condition of their population, as further proofs of the safety of immediate Emancipation.

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STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY, ON THE PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE IN HOLLAND, AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The SECRETARY said he had been requested to submit to the Conference a succinct statement on the subject which stood fourth on the list, having recently visited Holland, and collected a little information relating to it. The

friends of the cause would rejoice to learn that it was advancing in that country. There was an organization existing at the Hague, namely, the *Dutch Anti-Slavery Society*, the principal members of which are connected with the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. It has been extremely active, and has auxiliaries in Rotterdam, Delft, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and elsewhere, and through these it has succeeded in creating a strong, popular, Anti-slavery sentiment throughout the country. The question has been taken up on Christian grounds, and is rapidly gaining partisans. For a very considerable time, however, the efforts made were very partially successful; but at length, the public mind having taken hold of it, petitions were sent in to the Chambers of the States-General, praying for the abolition of Slavery. At first very little attention was paid to them; but as they continued to pour in, and public opinion began to manifest itself more and more strongly in favour of the project, the Government was compelled to entertain it. In the course of last year, numerous petitions were addressed to the King from all parts of Holland; and on the 24th of November an important discussion took place in the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament, on the presentation by M. A. de Teenstret, of Ulrum, Groningen, of a petition calling on the Chamber to take into consideration the question of emancipating the slaves in the Dutch colonies. He declared himself for immediate Emancipation. In the course of the debate, the general condition of the slave population in those possessions was brought under review, and instances were cited of the cruel treatment to which the slaves are subjected, particularly in Surinam, and illustrations were given of the inefficiency of the laws which had been passed, ostensibly for their protection. Under one of the Government regulations, runaways may be pursued by the patrols belonging to the troops of the line, and in case of resistance or refusal to surrender, may be shot down. A premium of ten guilders, or about seventeen shillings sterling, is paid for each slave so destroyed, or on the production of his right hand. In December 1852, two premiums were paid on two hands thus brought to the authorities. In one of these cases the wretched wife of the murdered slave was compelled to carry her husband's hand to the magistrate. A deputy, M. Elout de Sousterwoede, asserted that, in the distant plantations, atrocities were committed sufficient in number and kind to furnish matter for a Surinam *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Another deputy, the Baron Van Hoëvel, supported these allegations, and added, that the atrocities narrated in that well-known book could not only be matched in Surinam, but they were exceeded. The discussion did not elicit any



opposition on the general question of the expediency of Emancipation, and there was an earnest, outspoken expression of opinion that it had better take place to-day than to-morrow. The result was, the referring of the petition to the Minister for the Colonies, by a majority of 35 to 6.

On the 29th of the same month—only a few days after this discussion had taken place—a Commission of Inquiry was appointed by the Government, by command of the King, of which M. Groen Van Prinsterer, President of the *Dutch Anti-Slavery Society*, was constituted a member. It was not, however, a very encouraging fact, that the partisans of Slavery predominated in that Commission, and from its labours the Dutch Abolitionists did not expect much.

On the 10th of December another debate took place in the Second Chamber, on a question being put to the Colonial Minister, with a view to ascertain whether the object of the Commission that had been appointed was to suggest such measures as might seem to it most suitable to lead to Emancipation; or to determine the simple question, whether Emancipation was expedient. In reply, the Minister said the whole subject had been under consideration for some time past, and the Special Commission had been appointed by His Majesty to determine what was best to be done under present circumstances. It had not, however, to determine whether Emancipation should or should not take place. That point had been settled long ago. In 1851 certain bills had been introduced for the better government of the Dutch East and West-India possessions, and one measure, especially, contemplated the declaring free all children born of slave-mothers after the passing of the law. The proposition, however, had been very strenuously opposed, and there had been throughout the country a strong expression of opinion in favour of a speedier and a different mode of putting an end to Slavery. The question, therefore, was, in what manner Emancipation should be accomplished? Whether on the principle of compensation to the slaveholders, and if so, to determine from what source the funds requisite for this purpose were to be derived. These were the points under the consideration of the Commission, whose labours would be of a most arduous and delicate, as well as complicated nature, owing to the variety of interests involved. Their report, he hoped, would soon be forthcoming; but of course they must first bring their labours to a close.

But the Commission in question, though appointed on the 29th of November 1853, did not hold its first sitting until the 11th of February in the following year; and when he, the Secretary, was in Holland, it had not concluded its labours. Indeed, so little satis-

fied did M. Groen Van Prinsterer feel with the Commission, that he had then recently tendered his resignation as a member, which had been accepted.

On the 27th of April, at a general meeting of the *Dutch Anti-Slavery Society*, held at the Hague, under the presidency of M. Groen Van Prinsterer, an Address to the Chamber was passed, praying for the passing of a law proclaiming free all children born of slave-mothers in the Dutch East-India possessions, where it appears no real difficulty existed to prevent the passing of such a law. It does not appear, however, that any thing came of it.

Nevertheless, the partisans of Emancipation did not relax in their exertions. In the beginning of August a debate arose in the Second Chamber on a bill that was brought in for the better government of the Dutch East-India colonies, when an amendment was proposed, declaring that all the slaves in those colonies should be free from the 1st of January 1860. The amendment was strongly supported by the Abolitionist party, who were cordially seconded by the Liberals, and it passed by a considerable majority. It was subsequently also passed by the First Chamber; and the Colonial Minister has since sent out to the Governor-General the necessary instructions for carrying the law into effect. By it about 3600 slaves will be set at liberty. The planters are to be allowed an indemnity, the amount of which has not yet been fixed.

The great difficulty appears to be in relation to the Dutch West-India possessions, where there are in all about 39,400 slaves. As soon as the favourable moment arrives, the Dutch Abolitionists intend to send in a large number of petitions to the Chambers, in order to obtain, if possible, for the slaves in these colonies, the boon that had been granted to those in the Eastern possessions. It is said there is a strong opinion prevalent in the minds of the members of the Commission, and of many others, that unless some scheme of immigration can be devised that shall enable the planters to obtain the labour they fear Emancipation will cause them to lose, the measure is likely to be retarded, perhaps indefinitely. The publication, therefore, of information on these points, which have engaged the especial attention of the Conference, seems to be of the utmost importance; for if the Dutch planters could be made to see that they would not lack labourers provided they paid them regularly and dealt by them honestly, one of the chief obstacles to Emancipation in the Dutch West-India Colonies would be removed. It will thus be seen that the Anti-slavery cause is progressing in Holland. He might say, that in order to awaken public attention to the subject, tracts and works on the subject are circulated, and those published in England are much valued. The partisans of

immediate Emancipation are comparatively few, the majority being in favour of gradual abolition. It is generally admitted that ameliorative measures are inoperative, chiefly because another law, namely, one that recognises a previous right on the part of the master, annihilates every other law in opposition to it. It is also asserted that the deaths amongst the slave population exceed the births, so that the number of slaves is continually diminishing. The treatment of the slaves differs in no material respect from that which we have been accustomed to hear they receive in other countries. When they have kind masters, they are well used; and the reverse if their masters are bad. According as the latter favour education and religion, the slaves are permitted or not to have the gospel preached to them, or to receive instruction from the Missionaries, who are only too often placed under heavy restrictions in this respect. Under such circumstances, therefore, and with a full knowledge of these facts, the most zealous Abolitionists in Holland are in favour of immediate Emancipation.

This brief outline would scarcely be complete, without mentioning that an attempt at free colonization, made a few years ago by the Government of Surinam, completely failed. In 1853, one hundred and fifty Portuguese from Madeira were imported as free labourers, but a good many died. Since then, an attempt to carry on a system of immigration on a small scale has been attempted, the immigrants being Chinese, and they are said to have given much satisfaction.

The Conference would probably have observed that the fourth subject embraced other countries, as well as Holland. Now Cuba, Brazil, and America were embraced in special resolutions, and therefore would be treated of in due place. He believed, also, there would be a resolution on Turkish Slavery. It did not, therefore, occur to him that he need occupy any more time, further than to state, in conclusion, that the small republic of Venezuela had recently given liberty to her 16,480 slaves; a proof that the good cause was progressing.

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STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY ON THE SUBJECT OF CUBA; THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY THERE; AND THE POSITION OF CUBA, IN RELATION TO THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED STATES.

He observed that it was a matter of notoriety that the slave-trade to Cuba was still prosecuted to an almost unlimited extent, notwithstanding that Spain had received, from this country, a large sum of money to suppress it, and had entered into the most solemn treaties with Great Britain for this object, and that frequent remonstrances had been addressed to the Cabinet of

Madrid, through the British ambassadors at that Court. Repeated promises had been made in reply, to the effect that the Spanish Government was fully resolved to put down the traffic; and assurances had been given that the Captains-General of Cuba had been instructed to carry out the injunctions of the Home Government. But he thought that no one who had paid the least attention to the subject, could for one moment believe in the promises so frequently held out by the Spanish Government, only, as it appeared, to be broken with the barest-faced effrontery. Nor could any one place more confidence in the professions of the Captains-General of Cuba, not one of whom seemed ever to have sincerely meditated the suppression of the traffic in slaves. It was, perhaps, not known to what extent the trade was carried on. He would quote from the Slave-trade Papers recently presented to Parliament, a statement made by G. C. Backhouse, Esq., Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at Havana, in his annual report on the state of the slave-trade in the island of Cuba, for the year 1853. He sets down at 12,500 the number of slaves imported within that period, and adds, that it exceeds, by considerably more than one-third, the number imported in 1852, and of those introduced in any one of the preceding eleven years, except 1844. He (the speaker) was, however, in possession of information which justified him in affirming that the number given by Mr. Backhouse was considerably understated. There had been published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for August 1853, a return of the number of slaves landed in Cuba, during the first five months and to the end of the first fortnight in June of that year; with the names of some of the vessels and consignees; of the place where the landings were effected, and what had become of the vessels. From that date to the end of November, several cargoes had been set on shore, but no account of the numbers composing them had reached him. In December, however, 2188 more slaves were landed and carried off to the plantations, making, with the number already specified, a total of 11,374. Now it was fair to presume that during the intervening period, that is, during the last fortnight in June, and the months of July, August, September, October, and November, at least 4000 more had been introduced, which would swell the total to 15,000. Then came the ordinary official estimate of one-third, always assumed to be landed without the knowledge of the authorities, making in all at least 20,000 human beings added to the slave-population of Cuba during the year 1853. Now to shew that this was not an exaggerated estimate, he would observe, that though the Government returns did not give a detailed statement of the numbers of slaves introduced from the beginning of January to



the 15th of June, they did furnish particulars of the cargoes landed from that date to the 7th December. These numbers amounted to 4680. There could be no doubt of the correctness of the number landed during the previous period, so minute were the published particulars. Had they been inaccurate they would have been contradicted. It might be necessary to explain that the British Resident could not be expected to know of all the cargoes that are landed. Every one around him has a positive interest in deceiving and misleading him, because every official, from the Captain-General downwards, receives something from the slave-traders to connive at the unlawful traffic. It is no secret, that the fee of the Captain-General, prior to 1840, was half a doubloon, and that it was raised in 1843, by O'Donnell, to three doubloons per head for every slave landed, which is the fee actually paid at this time. The evidence taken before the Slave-trade Treaties' Committee, in July and August 1853, had been most conclusive on this point, and on the flagrant manner in which our treaties with Spain were violated. That Committee expressed a very strong opinion on this matter, but made no suggestion whatever to the Government to secure the fulfilment of the treaties, beyond stating that the moment was favourable for the renewal of efforts on the part of Great Britain, France, and the United States, to stop the slave-trade to Cuba. From the evidence he (the Secretary) had been able to collect, it was clear that the Captain-General of Cuba alone could, if he chose, put an end to the traffic. The local authorities in Brazil had done so, within the space of a year from the day they set about it, though the system of bribery for conniving at it had been as extensive and notorious as it was now in Cuba. No remonstrances or representations, submitted to the Cabinet of Madrid, would, in his opinion, have any permanent effect. Until an honest man were appointed to the command of the island, one who would do justice to the sentiments of the native Cubans, he feared no change for the better would take place, though even a new Captain-General should be appointed every year, whose professions should be stronger than those of his predecessors.

He would take this opportunity of saying that he believed much ignorance prevailed in this country as to the real state of things in Cuba. It might not be generally known, though the fact would be found mentioned over and over again in the various official despatches of the British Agents in Havana to the Home Government, that the Liberal party in Cuba, composed chiefly of the most distinguished and influential native Cubans, are to a man resolutely opposed to the slave-trade. Even so far back as 1799 and 1811, petitions were addressed to the Spanish Government by some

of the most influential persons and the most powerful corporations in Cuba, praying that the slave-trade might be put an end to, and even suggesting plans for the gradual abolition of Slavery. In 1832, one Don José Antonio Saco wrote an article in the seventh number of the *Bimestre Cubana*, pointing out the necessity of suppressing the traffic; but though it was so moderate that it passed the public Censor, the Captain-General, Tacon, exiled the writer as an Abolitionist. In 1841, the British Government having pressed the subject more strongly than it had done for some years previously, the Captain-General, Valdez, took measures to ascertain what the general feeling was in regard to the suppression of the traffic. All the Cubans whose opinion was asked, condemned it; and in the Slave-trade Papers for 1841 will be found a great number of translations of reports, and of memorials addressed to General Valdez on this matter. In those for 1844 will also be found the translation of a Memorial, prepared in Havana, urging the then Captain-General, O'Donnell, to put a stop to the trade in slaves; but he ordered the suppression of the Memorial itself, and it was therefore not presented to him. The evidence of David Turnbull, Esq., given in his *Travels in the West*, p. 170; that of the Earl of Carlisle, as reprinted in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, shortly after the noble Earl's return to England from his tour in the Western Hemisphere; the *Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* for 1842; the Rev. Dr. David King's *State and Prospects of Jamaica*, published in 1850; and numerous other authorities, might be quoted in proof of the very strong feeling entertained in Cuba, by the native Creole or Cuban party, in favour of the abolition of the Slave-trade. There can therefore be no doubt of the fact, and the question naturally arises why the traffic is not suppressed. Quite recently we are informed through the public press, that Lord Howden urged the Cabinet of Madrid to consent to consider and to treat slave-trading as piracy. The request was refused, on the plea that the Cubans were averse to it. Now in the teeth of evidence such as had been just given, it was evident that this was a falsehood, deliberately palmed off upon the British Minister. The truth is, that the traffic is a source of emolument to the Captains-General, and the office is consequently one conferred on those individuals who have rendered the Government a service, and whom it desires to reward, by affording them the opportunity of amassing wealth. It is thus made the interest of the Captain-General to suppress any and every expression of public sentiment averse to the continuance of slave-trading, and to furnish all kinds of reasons—false, or specious, or partly true—for its prosecution. It would be objected

to this view of the question, that Concha, the present Captain-General, is stated to have done a great deal to suppress slave-trading during his previous term of office, and that before his recent departure for Cuba he had expressed his determination to put it down on his arrival. But his professions would be found to be a mere farce. It could be proved, that during the time he was in office before, he received bribes for conniving at the traffic, though the general opinion was that he had not done so. If he did not actually hold out his own hand, his agent, Don Joaquin Gomez, knew how to arrange matters so that the result should be the same. This Gomez had acquired power under General Tacon, in 1836, whose right hand he became, and who was employed by him to receive the head-money for the slaves that were disembarked. This same individual used also to receive hush-money for Valdez, and was the real Governor of Cuba during Canedo's term of office. He is the chief of the slave-traders in Cuba; is, or was the proprietor of barracoons in Havana, near the Beneficiencia; and is reputed to be worth 2,000,000 of dollars. He (the Speaker) had the names of the parties who had paid him money for Concha and Valdez, to secure their connivance at the traffic. These were facts that could not be controverted, and yet it was notorious that Concha had expressed his determination to put down the traffic, and that Valdez had, on his arrival in Cuba, called the slave-traders, together and told them he would not suffer it to continue, but only permit those cargoes to be landed which might be brought in by vessels that had left the ports of Cuba on slave-trading expeditions, *with the consent* of his predecessor in office. He felt anxious the attention of the Conference should be directed to these points, or it would be impossible for them to understand why, when the Cubans themselves are opposed to the slave-trade, it should be prosecuted in spite of all they could do or say to prevent it. General Concha had been represented as a determined foe to the traffic. It was quite true he had issued proclamations against it; but so had Pezuela, Canedo, and even O'Donnell. This was done for show: the slave-traders well knew it meant nothing. How far Concha's professions are entitled to confidence may be judged of by his published sentiments. Last year he brought out in Madrid a work entitled *Notes on the Government of Cuba*. The volume is a rare one, the edition having been suppressed. But he (the Speaker) had read it, and made extracts from it. In that volume General Concha asserts that Cuba must have a large slave population to maintain the prosperity of the island, and therefore the slave-trade is requisite. But General Concha had gone further than even this. He appears to have deliberately falsified the returns of the slave popu-

lation in Cuba, in order to make it appear less than it really is, and to promote the views of the Spanish Government in augmenting the number of negroes by fresh importations, namely, to keep the Cubans in constant fear. The Government is quite aware that if the Cubans saw a favourable opportunity they would throw off the yoke of Spain, and proclaim themselves independent. Now, in the event of a movement of this kind taking place, the Spanish Government would—according to their expressed intention—arm the slave population, and declare all those slaves free who should fight for Spain against the Cubans. The conduct of the Captains-General, therefore, in regard to the slave-trade, is regulated by their knowledge of this policy. Hence the motive of Concha in publishing false returns of the slave population will be at once understood. In this volume of his, which would necessarily command attention, and be quoted as authority—especially those portions of it professing to give accurate statistics on the state of the island—he sets down the slave population in 1850 at 322,519. But in 1841, it amounted to 436,495, according to the return presented by Ignacio Tenaza in his pamphlet on *Cuba and Africa*, in which he gives the detail of the census for that year, in the eastern, western, and central departments of the island respectively. If, therefore, Concha's statement is correct, it would shew a diminution in nine years, of nearly a hundred and fourteen thousand in the slave population, which is notoriously incorrect. This juggling with figures reminded him forcibly of Mrs. Stowe's new *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, entitled *Facts versus Figures*, in which she shews that the 6th census returns of the slave population in the United States were deliberately falsified, in order to gain capital for the extension of slave territory. In illustration, she produces tables from three of the Northern States only, in the first of which the return sets down the sum total of coloured inhabitants in eleven towns, at five, and gives thirty-seven coloured insane: the second table gives two coloured inhabitants as the sum total in thirteen towns, and side by side sets down the coloured insane at fourteen: the third is more extraordinary still, for whilst the number of towns is thirteen, and the total of coloured inhabitants are one hundred and sixty, thirty-six of whom are under ten years of age, the number of coloured insane is set down at one hundred and fifty-eight. The detail of these tables is proportionately curious; as, for instance, in one town, that of Scarborough, New Hampshire, the total of coloured inhabitants is set down at zero, but in the very next column a return is made of six coloured insane. Just, indeed, is that lady's remark, when she exclaims: "If State documents are falsified in



support of Slavery, what confidence can be placed in any representations that are made on the subject?" Now this was precisely what might be said of Concha, who has committed a similar breach of faith with the community at large, with the sole view of promoting the secret policy of the Spanish Government in Cuba. No dependence, therefore, can be placed upon his word, notwithstanding the praises lavished upon him by Lord John Russell and the Earl of Clarendon, and the confidence they seem to have in his integrity. What renders this public falsehood of Concha's the more shameful, is its being told in the teeth of a fact reiterated by J. Kennedy, Esq., before the Slave-trade Treaties' Committee, that from 1841 to 1849, both inclusively, the total importations of negroes amounted to at least 54,000; to which number, he said, must be added an estimate of one-half for other parts of the island; giving a gross total of above 80,000 added to the slave population. It is doubtless true that the mortality is large, but it is notoriously not so great as to cause the slave population even to remain stationary, much less to diminish at the rate of nearly 13,000 a-year. He thought, therefore, Concha was not the man to whom the friends of the slave could look with any degree of confidence to carry out measures for the suppression of the slave-trade. It was well known in Madrid and in Cuba that his re-appointment to the Captain-Generalship of the island had been the price paid him for his participation in the recent political movement in Spain, and that he had refused to join O'Donnell unless the latter consented to give him the appointment. He had views of his own to carry out, in relation to the administration of the affairs of Cuba. His book sets forth those views at large, and states, that had he remained he would have carried them out. The suppression of slave-trading does not enter into them.

It may be supposed that representations to the head of the present Government in Spain may accomplish some good. Espartéro bears a high character for integrity, and is said to be in favour of suppressing the traffic, and even to regard the abolition of Slavery itself with no unfavourable eye. But O'Donnell is the virtual ruler of the country, and it is notorious that the slave-trade was never carried on with so much impunity as during his term of office in Cuba, from which he retired with an enormous fortune made by the most rapacious extortion in every department; by raising six-fold the amount of head-money on each slave landed on the island; and by making a shameful market of the class of negroes known as *emancipados*, through his agent Brigadier Don Miguel Maria Paniagua, which in one year alone, 1846, brought in the enormous sum of 876,436 dollars. These facts could not be controverted, and they

went to demonstrate that so long as Spain was virtually ruled by an individual whose leanings towards Slavery and the continuance of the slave-trade, very little good would be likely to result from any representations made to the Spanish Ministry. The question then was, what under such circumstances could be done? He should say that the best thing the Anti-slavery party in this country could do would be to enlighten British public opinion as to the true state of affairs in Cuba, and cultivate a friendly feeling with those parties in the island who were known to be in favour of the abolition of the slave-trade and of Slavery; whether they contemplated accomplishing the latter object immediately or gradually. It is an encouraging fact that there is a party there in favour of Emancipation, though it might not be at present very large or very powerful. Let this be known; and that party, feeling it had the sympathies of British Abolitionists, would gather strength and prosecute the good work.

And here he would take leave to offer a few remarks on the political position of Cuba in relation to the United States. It was generally imagined that the project of annexing the island to the Federation of the States, was an American notion, originating with the Southern party. This is incorrect. The movement is emphatically Cuban, and has been promoted and sustained by Cubans and Cuban money. The history of the island shews that for the last thirty-two years at least the native Cubans have been desirous of emancipating themselves from the yoke of Spain. In this she has only followed the example of every colony or province Spain ever possessed in Europe and America, and which, after enduring her tyranny, and submitting to the rapacity of her officials, at length rebelled against her dominion. The Cubans seek their enfranchisement, because Spain has deprived them of the rights and privileges of freemen. In Cuba there is no protection for property or for person; the Cubans are subject to the abuses of an irregular and arbitrary authority, that of the Captain-General, who is, moreover, irresponsible: the normal state of the island is one of permanent siege: standing courts-martial are the ordinary tribunals: the Cubans are despoiled of all national representation, and have not even the right of petition: they have no voice in the imposition, arrangement, or distribution of the taxes that are levied upon them: they have no means of asserting their right to enjoy civil privileges, to exercise liberty of speech and of conscience, and to have a free press: they are shut out from office, from scientific professions, and from the exercise of many callings: they cannot meet in any number to discuss their own private interests: even industrial corporations—such as mining and railway companies—

cannot convene a business meeting without being compelled to appoint as president the Governor of the district or his deputy, to be a spy on their actions: they are taxed to a most onerous extent, and fleeced by the officials, to whose rapacity they must submit, or fail in procuring justice: for speaking against the slave-trade, and suggesting the abolition of Slavery, some of the most distinguished Cubans have been banished, and their properties confiscated; others have been imprisoned and some judicially murdered: they are exposed to have the negroes armed against them, to have their estates laid waste, and their lives imperilled, should they make even the most constitutional attempts to procure a redress of their grievances: they hate the Slave-trade, and desire its abolition, but are forced to submit to the wholesale introduction of the hordes of negroes illegally imported from Africa, in spite of the most solemn treaties with European powers, and to bear the shame of being considered parties to the violation of them: they also desire to see Slavery abolished, but are prevented from prosecuting those plans which to them appear best calculated to accomplish that object. Under these circumstances they have long sought to assert their independence as the only means of remedying the evils they complain of; but conscious that they are deficient in the resources necessary to achieve their object, they have turned to the American people, not to subject themselves to the conditions of the pro-Slavery party in the South, they allege, but to secure such aid as shall enable them to dispose of their future with independence as a free people.

He believed these were the simple facts, and a knowledge of them would greatly tend to enlighten the public mind in this country on the subject of the annexation of Cuba to the United States, of which so much had been said. No doubt the partisans of Slavery in the South had taken advantage of the wishes of the liberal party in Cuba, and would not aid them without an equivalent. But it was due to the cause of truth to state that the expeditions headed by Lopez, and which terminated so fatally, were planned by Cubans, and carried into effect with money and resources drawn from Cuba. Lopez was the military chief selected by the Cubans, and the object of his expeditions was to liberate the people, not to conquer the island. It did not seem possible to prevent Cuba from falling into the lap of America. Another expedition was on foot, similar to the last, and having the same object. It might terminate as fatally, but it might succeed. In the former case, the attempt would certainly be renewed, and every time it would be with increased chances of success. What, then, would be the position of Cuba, should it achieve its independence? He had the firm conviction

that the slave-trade would be at once abolished. The difficulty and the danger he foresaw was the question of the continuance of Slavery in the event of annexation. He doubted whether the United States would have Cuba as a free State, at a gift; yet, unless Cuba were annexed, she would be weak, and have to maintain a struggling existence, unless England and France and America then united, on some common public ground, to recognise and guarantee her national independence: but this was not a question for the Conference to entertain. He had heard an intelligent Cuban say that there was no safety for Cuba, once independent, unless she also proclaimed immediate emancipation, and admitted the negroes to the exercise of the same privileges as themselves. To that sentiment he could give a cordial assent. One thing appeared certain, and that was, that if America obtained Cuba, our West-India possessions would be placed in great jeopardy. Our leading statesmen were aware of the danger. It had been more than hinted at by Lord John Russell, at the close of the correspondence which had taken place between Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States on the subject of the Tripartite Convention, by which it was proposed that these two powers, conjointly with France, should enter into a compact not to allow Cuba to pass out of the hands of Spain into those of any other power. The United States' Government refused, and Lord John Russell, after emphatically asserting that Great Britain and France have an interest in maintaining the *statu quo* which Great Britain, on her part, cannot forego, concludes his very remarkable despatch to the United States' Minister, by declaring that Great Britain must at once resume her entire liberty, and upon any occasion that may call for it, be free to act either singly or in conjunction with other Powers, as to her may seem fit. This foreshadowed difficulties of no ordinary nature, and it therefore became the duty of the friends of Emancipation to consider well now what they could do to advance the cause in Cuba, without involving themselves with political parties.

In relation to any representations that might be made to the Spanish Government, he thought it was our duty to make them, though we might have little confidence in the result. It could not be denied that these remonstrances had induced the Cabinet of Madrid to do tardy justice to the *Emancipados*, though, from information in his hands, he feared that even in this instance there had been great bad faith, for the numbers liberated did not at all correspond with those who might be estimated to be entitled to the same boon, and who were nevertheless deprived of it. He would add, in conclusion, that if Spain would only fulfil her treaties with this country,



and set free the slaves that had been illegally introduced since those compacts were signed, and their descendants, it would amount to a declaration of immediate Emancipation.

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STATEMENT MADE BY JOHN CANDLER, ESQ., OF CHELMSFORD, ON THE STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION IN BRAZIL.

As an evidence of the animus of the Government, he would mention, that in 1852 two small vessels succeeded in landing their cargoes of 300 or 400 slaves each on the shores of that country, a part of whom were rescued by the authorities, and restored to liberty. Since that period, during the last two years, not a single slave is known to have been landed in the whole of Brazil. A few months since, an attempt was made by a Cuban slaver, under the American flag, to introduce a cargo at the island of Itaipu, near Rio de Janeiro, to which part of the coast she was driven, it was alleged, by stress of weather; but the planters, instead of buying the slaves denounced the captain, who immediately weighed anchor and escaped. So far as depended on the Brazilian Government, the African slave-trade was now extinct, and it was reasonable to hope would remain so. Nobody doubted the sincerity of the Emperor, who was supported in his determination to put a stop to the slave-trade by the native Brazilians. The Portuguese residents had monopolized the traffic, and become rich by it, and their downfall through the failure of their iniquitous gains had given great satisfaction to the nation.

The result of this great change had proved highly favourable to lawful commerce, and even to the planters themselves. The large sums of money hitherto employed in bringing slaves from Africa were now devoted to honest trade: discounts had greatly fallen; and the planters, who had hitherto bought the poor captives with bills of long date, and were, in consequence, often embarrassed, instead of bringing new land into cultivation with new slaves, had set themselves steadily to improve the estates already in hand, and, by improved implements and machinery, to produce larger crops. It may now be said that the Brazilians, as a people, have no wish to revive the slave-trade. Previous to 1852 more than 50,000 slaves were imported annually. Had no stop been put to the traffic, the last two years would have exhibited the awful fact of 100,000 human beings landed in Brazil from Africa, and sold into bondage; and taking the estimate of the late Sir Fowell Buxton, that for every slave landed alive two others were destroyed to obtain him, it would result, that 300,000 captives, living or dead, had been spared to the cause of humanity. He asked if this were not a cause of rejoicing to those who wished well to their fellow-men? The change thus brought about had been effected mainly through the intervention of

the British Government, which insisted that the treaties of Brazil with England should be faithfully observed. In regard to Slavery, the feelings of the Brazilian people were but little in advance of the sentiment that pervades other countries where Slavery continues to exist. There is, however, a small Anti-slavery band among persons of influence in Rio Janeiro, and in other of their large towns. Three individuals, a few years since, begun an Anti-slavery Society, which soon enrolled twenty-one members, and when he and his friend, Wilson Burgess, were at the capital in 1852, the number had increased to 215, and instead of holding their meetings, as at first, with closed doors, they now met in a public saloon, and convened their assemblies by advertisement in the daily journals. Through the influence of these honest men, attempts had been made in the Brazilian legislature to put down Slavery. A bill was introduced declaring every child thereafter to be born free. The effort failed. During the present autumn a bill had been brought in to prevent the internal slave-trade. This, also, was lost, but public sentiment was so far advanced as to lead the promoters of the measure to hope that it may be passed into a law at the next session. These movements in the legislative body prove clearly that Brazil is more ready to listen to the claims of justice than the several Slave States of North America. In America there was but one State (Georgia), which forbade the internal slave-trade, and that not from any principle of morals or religion, but solely because the province contained as many slaves as the planters had capital to employ, and to introduce more would lead to embarrassment; perhaps, also, because the money value of their human chattels already in possession would every day be growing less.

In the towns of Brazil by far the larger part of the population were slaves. Their concentration and immense numbers made it the interest of their masters to treat them leniently, to prevent insurrection. A new policy, however, was beginning to prevail, which, if followed out, would lead to great dissatisfaction. The city merchants, finding slave-labour enormously expensive, are beginning to use horses and carts in a greater degree than before. By this means the porters now employed will be dismissed from a service that is profitable, as they toil in part for their masters and in part for themselves, and must expect to be sold to the plantations, a lot which they instinctively dread. The city slaves of Brazil work very hard, but they earn a good deal of money. The master takes from the earnings of his slave two or three shillings a day, and leaves what he earns over that sum to himself; so that, by small accumulations, in a few years he may buy himself. The laws are favourable to this sort of self-emancipation, as every slave is entitled to go to a magistrate and get himself valued, and then, either at that or at any future time, to

demand his freedom for the sum adjudicated. The condition of the prædial slaves in Brazil he had no reason to suppose to be at all better than in other slave countries; and it should be the earnest endeavour of the Conference to promote, by every possible means, an improved feeling in that wide empire, in regard to its momentous evils, and to hasten its extinction.

He would conclude by moving a resolution, not of thanks to the Government of Brazil for putting down the slave-trade (as no government deserved thanks for performing its imperative duties,) but of congratulation that the inhuman traffic in that extensive empire is at length suppressed. He would also couple with this resolution a word of encouragement to the honest-hearted men in that country, who had begun to make war against the system of Slavery, to hold on their course without faltering or hesitation till their great work is accomplished.

The SECRETARY solicited permission to submit, in support of the encouraging statement made by Mr. Candler, a few additional facts, which had been extracted from the recently published Slave-trade Papers. Her Majesty's Consuls at Pará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Rio, Grande do Sul, St. Catherine's, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro, in their Annual Report on the Slave-trade, inform the Earl of Clarendon that the traffic has entirely ceased, not one cargo having been landed in 1853, and during the first six months of the present year. In one province, that of Pará, there had been no African slave-trade since 1835; and Mr. Consul Vines attributes the early abandonment of the traffic here to the great fertility of the soil, which produces very large crops with a very small amount of labour. He adds that the value of slave-grown produce exported in 1853 was £121,208 sterling, the gross amount of exports being £516,651, leaving £395,443 as the value of the exports produced by free-labour. India-rubber is the most important article of commerce in this province, its value being greater than all the other exported produce combined, and it is almost wholly collected and prepared for market by free-labour. As an illustration of the almost immediate cessation of the traffic, when once the authorities had resolved to suppress it, may be cited this remarkable fact, that whilst, in 1849, the number of slaves landed amounted to 54,000, in 1851 the disembarkations fell to 3287; in 1852 no more than from 800 to 1000 slaves were landed, of whom a number were immediately re-captured; in 1853 none were landed at all, nor any during the first six months of 1854. The same may be said of Rio Grande do Sul; and here the practice of introducing newly-imported negroes from Bahia and other northern ports had been discontinued. The Consul at Rio Grande states that free-labour is found more advantageous

than slave-labour, but the demand for it is so great, that the labourers almost make their own terms, and even then are not to be depended upon. A number of free foreign immigrants (499) had come into the province, and during the six months prior to the 30th December 1853, as many as 95 slaves had been removed into other provinces, owing to their labour proving so unprofitable in Rio Grande. These facts were, he submitted, highly encouraging.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE REV. J. SHERMAN, ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The subject to which I am to address myself is American Slavery. I am conscious, Sir, that many understand this important subject better than myself, yet I feel honoured by the resolution. To speak a word on behalf of the poor oppressed slave will please God, however feebly attempted or imperfectly expressed.

"What," say the bulk of Americans, "have you to do with American Slavery? Why not leave us to settle our own business? We only are responsible for its existence." I reply, "As a citizen of the world, I am interested in all that concerns the world, its weal or woe; but I must specially be interested in the Slavery which America sustains. They are a people speaking my own language, and in whose veins some of my own blood runs. My ancestor, Roger Sherman, was one of the five appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence; and I feel that America owes to my family something for its present liberty and light. As Roger Sherman did them a good turn, I am naturally anxious to maintain the family characteristic, and do them a good turn also."

The first sentence in the Declaration of American Independence is a noble one, borne out by Scripture and reason.

Now, if all men are equal in the sight of God, and have immortal souls, and interests beyond this world, then Slavery, which robs them of their liberty, of their right to marriage, to education, and specially to the knowledge of salvation by Christ, is and must be a sin and a crime before God. What robbery can equal this? Stealing from a man his money or his estates, though a great crime, is a bagatelle compared with this. And is it true, that 3,300,000 immortal beings are held in this state in enlightened, free, liberal America? It is. Is it true, that 660,000, or one-fifth of the whole, are held by ministers and members of Christian churches? It is. Is it true, that thirteen of the leading Religious Societies of America refuse to treat it as a sin? It is. Sir, is not this something fearful? Against this crying sin, whether in heathenish Africa or enlightened America, we must lift up our voice, and plead for the oppressed.

Think of that noble institution, the American



Bible Society, sending Bibles to all lands, but not attempting or daring to send a Bible to a man whom America has made her slave. Think of a meeting held to denounce Italian persecution for imprisoning Miss Cunningham for distributing Bibles in a *foreign* land, while at the very time the Americans had imprisoned Miss Douglas, in Norfolk, Virginia, for reading the Bible to slaves in her own house. Think of the American Bible Society, denouncing, in their "Record," Italian laws which forbid the circulation of the Bible, but silently passing over American laws which prohibit its perusal. In an admirable work by Joseph John Gurney, "On the Love of God," there occurs the following passage—"If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where (would have been) the African slave trade? Where the odious systems which furnish to man a property in his fellow-man, and converts natural beings into marketable chattels?" The American Tract Society, which publishes this book, dares not publish that passage, therefore it expunges it, and substitutes for it, "Where (would have been) the tortures of the Inquisition? Where every system of oppression and wrong by which he who has the power revels in luxury and ease, at the expense of his fellow?" Such a fraud upon Christian literature to serve an ungodly purpose cannot have the blessing of the Most High.

I know it will be said, It is easy to plead for the abolition of American Slavery in England, but should we plead for it if we lived in America? I hope we should; but whether we did or not, the sin would be the same. Our conduct is not to be the rule of action, but what God says; and He has commanded us to "let the oppressed go free." Sir, I would not depreciate the difficulties of emancipation. Doubtless there are political and social embarrassments of the question of great magnitude. To accomplish the liberation of the slave will require great sacrifices for God and for conscience. It may require them to dissolve long-established friendships; it may bring odium on their names and opinions; it may put upon the shoulders of many a Christian a heavy cross. But if God calls us to action, we must leave results to Him, and simply do what He commands. When I address the members of the church of Christ, I speak to men who are pledged to make sacrifices for a Saviour who gave up himself for them; who are accustomed at his table to pledge themselves to sacrifices for his cause and gospel, and in order to save the souls of men; and it is only for emancipating the souls and bodies of men that members and ministers of the American churches are decided not to make any sacrifice. This is just the point to which the Boards of the religious institutions and the Christians and churches of America, should be brought. Are you willing to make a stand for God upon the naked fact,

that Slavery is a sin and a crime before God? Many ministers of the Northern churches say as strong things against American Slavery when they come to England as ourselves. Their theory is good and perfect; but most of them tell us the time is not yet come: effort is hopeless. Sir, we ask for the test of their sincerity by *action*. We beg them to try, and try again. Mr. Barnes has justly said, that there is no power without the church that could sustain Slavery for an hour, if it was not sustained in it. I go farther, and assert that it is a *ministerial* question; that if the ministers of Christianity in America who hold Slavery to be a sin and a crime would speak out like men in their pulpits—would commence a battle of words more mighty than the sword—would rule public opinion, instead of being ruled by it—the members of the church must bow, and Slavery must die. But most of the men who tell you it is a sin never preach against it—never pray for the freedom of the slave—never act on the question like men who believe what they assert. A gentleman connected with one of the great religious institutions of America, in his recent visit to this country, charged us with unfairness, because, in the Evangelical Alliance, we would not recognise slaveholders as members, saying we only affixed exclusion to one sin, why not extend it to drunkards, &c. So we should, if we knew them to be guilty of that sin. But see the difference. Slavery is sanctioned, patronised, sustained by law—by the law of unrighteous men against the law of the righteous God; and ministers, by their inaction, whatever their theory, aid in maintaining that unrighteous law against the holy law of their Master and Lord. We ask not impossibilities; but we ask for distinct, decided proofs of sincerity, by some possible action against this master evil.

How did their fathers, when State oppression drove them almost frantic? To preserve a pure conscience, they sacrificed health, and property, and life for freedom. The Society of Friends were ecclesiastically oppressed; they battled for their brethren with words of power, and sustained their battle with sacrifices of property. To their honour, to this hour they maintain that battle for liberty. When Queen Mary ascended the throne, and said to the Protestants, "If you do not submit to be deprived of your liberty of worship, you shall burn," rather than sacrifice conscience or their brethren, they did burn. Independents, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Gospellers of all sects, went to the stake, rather than submit to the sin of oppression. The same martyr spirit could conquer Slavery now. Instead of calling Slavery, as the churches in the South do, "a Divine institution"—instead of denominating it, as many of the churches in the North do, "a domestic institution"—instead of apologising for it and excusing it, only

let a bold front be put against it, and though the struggle may be fierce and obstinate, it cannot be long; Slavery in America must fall.

The question may be still further narrowed. It is not only a ministerial, but a Northern question. The influence of Northern churches is unquestionably the strongest bulwark of Slavery. They are mainly responsible for its continuance; for till they take decided action against it, there is no human probability that the atrocious system will be destroyed.

If it were not so repeatedly urged, it is hardly worth answering the objection, that the slaves are an inferior race of beings, and fit only for the servitude to which they are doomed. Sir, what would any of us be with similar privations, denied the influence of education, the virtue of all social relatives, and the elevating teachings of religion? Yet when the minds of slaves have been cultivated, they have equalled, if not excelled, the ordinary standards of mental power. Andronicus, the inventor of dramatic poetry, was a slave. Plantus—of whom Varro declares, that if the Muses were willing to speak Latin they would speak in the language of Plantus—was a slave. Terence, whose brilliant genius and delicate sentiments gained the patronage of the learned and powerful, was a negro slave. The two celebrated fabulists, Esop and Phædrus, were slaves. Epictetus, the moral philosopher, who, against the learning of his age, maintained the immortality of the soul, and wrote against suicide, was not only a slave, but the slave of one who had himself been a slave. The father of Horace was a slave. Demosthenes, though not a slave, was a blacksmith, and Socrates the son of a mason. Mind does not take its character from a white skin. The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists, the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Go to the British Museum and see the statues of the divinities, on which the Africans impressed their own fancies—the thick lip, the flattened nose, the woolly hair, are there. There are the creations of their own immortal genius, and monuments of human skill and taste, to which nothing that America has yet given birth can equal. Does not their past history justify us in asserting that they want nothing but liberty, and they will cultivate themselves to shine at the bar, to preserve justice on the bench, to serve their generation by their genius, and to save souls by their preaching? Give them liberty, and they will take an equal place among any living varieties of men.

For gentlemen in America to tell us, that if we only cease to buy their cotton, Slavery must die, is simply to shift the responsibility from themselves to us. Any thing of this kind is only tinkering the subject. As an auxiliary, the purchase of free-labour produce, only where it can assuredly be obtained, may be useful; but we insist upon it, that to hold men in Slavery is a

sin and a crime; and to that point alone the American churches are to be held, and from that their responsibility springs.

I do not despair. There is a noble band of righthearted men, zealous, active, devoted to the cause of emancipation in America, and, having truth on their side, must succeed. Their number happily is increasing. I pray God that the late acts of their legislature may not bring judgment on their glorious land. May the supineness of its ministers and people on this terrible sin, which eats like a canker into all their religious institutions and spiritual prosperity, pass away, and the glorious day speedily arrive, when every slave shall possess his birthright and his blessing—liberty!

Certain statements relating to the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* were here made by the REV. JAMES VINCENT, Agent of the *American Reform Tract and Book Society*, and by other gentlemen. These having formed, with some additional matter, the subject of articles in recent Numbers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the Committee deem it unnecessary to reproduce them. They would, however, observe that nothing that has since been stated in defence of the *American Board* has at all shaken the opinion the Committee have expressed of it.

PAPER READ BY ELIHU BURRITT ON THE SUBJECT OF THE VARIOUS INSTRUMENTALITIES TO BE EMPLOYED TO PUT DOWN SLAVERY, EMBRACING A DISUSE OF THE PRODUCTS OF SLAVE-LABOUR, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOURCES OF FREE-LABOUR.

Mr. President—It is with sincere deference to the opinions and views of this Conference, that I venture to submit a few thoughts in reference to the duty and propriety of abstaining, as far as practicable, from the use of slave-labour produce, as a testimony on the part of the friends of the slave against the system that holds him in bondage. In the first place, then, I beg you to excuse me if I use the somewhat hackneyed truism, that consistency is the jewel of moral virtues. The universal conscience of the community, and the conscience of every individual man and woman, gifted with proper perceptions, have established the truth and force of this axiom. There is perhaps no point upon which the public mind is so clear and unanimous as upon that of consistency of a person's practice with his profession. The precepts of Christianity and the dictates of common sense both enjoin this consistency as the only proof that can be given of a deep, honest, abiding adhesion to a fixed principle of religion or morals. No earnestness of profession will avail in the absence of this proof; and unless a person can produce this indispensable evidence of his sincerity, his example and influence must be but little better than worthless to the cause or doctrine he pretends to espouse. This verdict of



society is not a capricious or temporary notion. It has the seal and sanction of Divine revelation ; and there is a still small voice in his own conscience that reiterates that verdict, and makes him feel morally weak in himself and before the world. No, the sin and wrong of Slavery stand out in the boldest relief, distinct from any other forms or shades of crime and oppression. No modification of the system can reduce the chattellization of man to the same moral level as other outrages upon humanity. The scaffold, the knout, the branding-iron, the dungeon, may perpetrate more atrocious cruelties upon a human being, in the line of physical punishment, than even the scourge of the slave-driver. Thousands of the noblest minds that have enriched the world have stood up in the unbending and unsullied dignity of their manhood, and its dauntless will, under the infliction of these outrages. They have come forth from the scourging, the branding, and the prison, with the red insignia of suffering deeply cut in their persons ; but not a scar chased by the scourge's thongs or the heated iron's point has left a stamp or blush of shame or degradation upon the brow of their dignity as men. But the auctioneer's wooden hammer that chattellizes a human being in the shambles, falls with a knell to every attribute and hope of manhood. No funeral bell that ever tolled, no despot's voice that ever commanded scourge or faggot, can convey such humiliation to humanity as the ring of the man-seller's hammer and the tone of his voice, as he shouts "*Going! gone! for a thousand dollars!*" It matters not, in the degree of degradation, to whom the trembling African goes for a thousand dollars—whether to a St. Clare, or to a Legrée. The moral character of the transaction is the same. The great crime and sin against his rights and dignity as a man are as fully consummated in one case as the other ; his *chattelization* is as complete in the one as the other ; and no after circumstances can relieve that condition from one feature of degradation. Slavery, then, is a stupendous and unique outrage perpetrated upon our common humanity, which, unlike all other human crimes, is susceptible of only one degree. Everywhere, in every age, in every climate, in every country, in nations of every race, religion, and natural disposition, it must inevitably involve that enormous sin—the *chattelization of man*. No intermingling of mercy or kindness, no gentleness of master or mistress, no amount of physical comfort, can qualify the moral character of this transaction. Nearly all other kinds of outrage to which men are exposed are unexpected, incidental, and temporary. But Slavery is a continuous and aggravated crime, perpetrated upon a human being all the consecutive hours of his life, from the cradle to the grave. It is not murder, nor like murder ; for a strange and inhuman value is attached to the victim's life—the value of pounds, shillings, and pence ;

and consequently the cupidity of pecuniary interest tends to keep the human machine in action so long as one of its wheels can turn in the prison-house of bondage. The only crime to which we may justly liken Slavery is a life-long robbery, which rifles a human being of nearly every prerogative that raises man above the brute. It robs him of every attribute, and capacity, and dignity of manhood. Every waking hour of his life this aggravated robbery is renewed upon him. From the first moment that dawning reason reveals to him his condition, to the moment when death releases him from its degradation, he finds and feels himself a *thing*, a *chattel*. The robbery reaches on interminably to all his posterity. He is a father and husband, with all the warm affections of human nature throbbing within him ; but his wife is not his own ; his children are not his own. They are all *things*, that may be sold by the man who holds him and his family as a plantation set of chattels. Nor does the robbery stop here. It reaches on and on, clutching at every thing he may be, and do, and hope. Not only all the material values he may produce are his master's, but all the moral virtues and Christian graces he may acquire, are, in a certain sense, filched from him. By extraordinary exertion, he has acquired those capacities, habits, and virtues which are honoured in free men. They all enhance his value as a slave, and interpose new barriers against his emancipation. If he has become an *Uncle Tom* in religious life, the very inworking of Divine grace in his heart becomes a distinct pecuniary value to the man who owns him ; a value that is cited, and loudly cited, by the auctioneer, and admitted by the bidders at the sale of the saint. Thus his Christian hope, purity, faith, and fellowship with God, which fit him to wear his immortality as bright beside the crystal waters as any brow that ever wore a monarch's crown on earth,—these Christian graces, I say it with reverence, are also *chattelized* on the auction-block to the pecuniary profit of his master.

"But why reiterate these facts?" many may be disposed to ask. "They have all been admitted for nearly half a century : they are now obsolete truisms." To this I would reply, Truth and right are never obsolete. They are ever present, ever working with undiminished vitality and obligation. These facts, so old, so often repeated, are full of present and thrilling evidence that Slavery is a robbery, a literal, enormous, and aggravated robbery, perpetrated upon every right, dignity and capacity of a human being. It would seem entirely impossible for any man, woman, or child, not blinded by personal connection with the system, to resist the conviction, that it is steeped and stained with all the guilt that can possibly attach to theft of the most aggravated degree known to the kalendar of human crimes. Even this estimate must fall infinitely short of the full mea-

sure of the outrage it inflicts upon a fellow-being. Then Slavery is a crime as distinct by locality as by morality from other forms of oppression and wrong. It is not, like other iniquitous systems, established in every town and village in the civilized world, and incorporated with the usages of society. It is confined to distinct, well-defined localities. There is no ambiguity in reference to the seat and theatre of the system. If all the burglars and smugglers in Christendom should deposit all their stolen or contraband goods in three great warehouses—one in Boulogne, the second in Calais, and the third in Dunkirk, on the coast of France, the *locale* of these establishments could not be so distinct and permanent as that of the three countries in which the stolen labour of man is forced to produce for the British market. There is another circumstance which corroborates the inference which I would press upon your consideration. Unlike other stolen goods, the articles produced by the slave are few and simple, though of vast consumption. As if it were in the ordering of Divine Providence that the identity of these articles should be unequivocally clear, not one of them is grown in the Free States of Europe or America. They are cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice. Every bale, barrel, or sack of these articles from the United States, Cuba, or Brazil, have the brand of the country of its production. A case of stolen goods, forwarded from one of the burglar's warehouses in Boulogne or Calais, which we have imagined, could not present its identity so clearly as these products of the labour of the slave. Then, as another circumstance calculated to make the duty of the friend of the slave additionally clear and practicable, these four staple articles produced by Slavery are grown in the same climates by free-labour, and of nearly equal quality and cheapness. No Anti-slavery man or woman in the United Kingdom could be subjected to any serious discomfort by abstaining from the use of slave-labour produce.

These facts and considerations, it seems to me, should produce the conviction in the mind of every sincere and conscientious Abolitionist, that the voluntary consumption of articles grown by the slave is most clearly inconsistent with his profession. His own conscience must frequently make him sensible of this serious discrepancy between his practice and the principle he avows. The consciousness of this discrepancy must bring with it a sense of moral weakness in the cause of the slave. The slaveholders cast this inconsistency in his teeth, and taunt him with insincerity. They insist that he is an active party in the system of Slavery, so long as he supplies his table and wardrobe with its productions. They will not release him from fellowship and partnership with the slave-driver, so long as he uses the articles grown under the lash. Every year Exeter Hall utters a myriad-voiced protest against Slavery, and every year the cotton, rice, and

sugar-planters send back the taunt, "Physician, heal thyself!" The Jupiter Tonans of the British press and other journals frequently push home this cutting retort upon the friends of the slave with additional sarcasm. The power and point of their eloquent arguments against Slavery are thus weakened and averted to a degree which no one can rightly estimate. The best answer which they are able to oppose to this charge of inconsistency is a very lame one, which is susceptible of the most mischievous interpretation. It is this singular position: That the Abolitionist uses slave-labour cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice, with a daily mental remonstrance against the system under which they are produced, and that he thus frees his conscience from all participation in the guilt of that system. This, I believe, is generally regarded as the safest position the Anti-slavery man may take in reference to this question. But there are thousands of slaveholders who take almost the very same position, in order to quiet their consciences in this matter. They will tell you that they hold and work their slaves under a mental remonstrance against Slavery; that they regard the system as fraught with many evils and hazards to themselves, as well as to the slaves. Many of them will tell you that the human beings they hold in bondage they inherited as all their patrimony; others will tell you that nearly all their fortune is invested in slaves; that immediate emancipation would ruin them; and go on to frame a very pathetic plea for continuing a system they confess to be prolific of wrong and evil. And how can the Abolitionist fairly and honestly meet this argument? How can he tell the cotton-planter to set free the slaves for which he paid 10,000*l.*, while he himself is not willing to sacrifice a farthing, or experience the slightest inconvenience, in giving a preference to articles grown by *free-labour*? The purchase of every pound of slave-labour cotton, coffee, rice, or sugar in this country is a perfectly optional transaction on the part of the Abolitionist. There is plenty of the free article in the market for him, if he will take a little pains to procure it. The slaveholder might, perhaps, even quote against him a more urgent necessity for continuing in the system both support. He might, with some semblance of truth, say, that in the labour-market of the Southern States, Cuba, or Brazil, slaves only were to be procured, and that his purchase of them was not so optional as the purchase of slave-labour produce by the British Abolitionist.

These are a few of the considerations which I think ought to press forcibly upon the mind of every Abolitionist, and constrain him to abstain from the use of every article which, to his knowledge, is the produce of slave-labour. Until he does this, he may rest assured that the slaveholder will paralyze or parry every blow he can aim at Slavery. His own conscience will often



whisper an accusation of inconsistency, and the voice of public opinion will re-echo the charge. As a proof of the depth and strength of his anti-slavery sentiments, his full adoption of the free-labour principle would give his other arguments a power and a point which they could never otherwise possess. Let every friend of the slave take this course, and all the slaveholders in the world would know what Abolitionism meant, and Exeter Hall, and every other place in which the advocates of freedom uttered their voice, would speak such a remonstrance against human bondage as they never before sent over the sea.

PAPER READ BY MR. JAMES BANKS, OF PRESTON PANS, ON THE IMPORTATION OF COTTON IN THE SEED, TO BE GINNED IN GREAT BRITAIN, AS A MEANS OF FACILITATING THE INTRODUCTION OF LARGER QUANTITIES OF THE RAW STAPLE FROM THOSE PARTS WHERE IT WAS PERHAPS DIFFICULT TO SEND OUT EXACTLY THE KIND OF GIN SUITED TO THE PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF COTTON GROWN IN THOSE PARTS.

Whatever can facilitate or increase the supplies of cotton by free labour must thereby prove instrumental to the extinction of Slavery. Excepting their own consumption of sugar, made in the more Southern States, over which England can have little influence, nothing supports Slavery so much in America as the dependence of Britain on the United States for the larger proportion of cotton required in our manufactories, amounting to three-fourths of the total export of their cotton crop, in value above £12,000,000 sterling to Great Britain alone.

So dependent is Europe on American supplies, that were it not leading into another branch of cotton statistics, it is an important inquiry whether the slaveholding States might not find pecuniary repayment, were their workpeople paid fair wages. It is clear that Europe must give the slaveowners their own prices for cotton-wool, even were these prices doubled. Manufacturers had to pay such high rates in the deficient crop of 1850-51, and did so without prejudice to the employment of our operative spinners, or to the amount of our export of cotton goods; for in the scarcity of the staple the bulk of goods produced that year was of a finer and more costly description; the prices of East-India and other kinds of cotton rising in like proportions. This fund of gradual emancipation and repayment may pass away from the States, as the supplies of cotton become augmented from other countries.

One means of progressively but largely increasing such supplies would be found in importing and ginning the seed-cotton in this country, that is, in separating the seed from the cotton-wool by the saw or roller-gin, and converting the seed into oil and oil-cake. This has been already

done, if not on a large, yet on a sufficiently experimental scale to prove its practicability and utility.

There is much information required on this branch, which it is the business of the importer and others interested to inquire for; such as the districts producing cotton in abundance—their salubrity, safety, and accessibility by water—their working population, native merchants, and agents for procuring it—whether the cotton is of a wild or cultivated growth, the quantities, kinds, values, and whether the saw or the roller-gin would be best adapted for ginning them, &c. &c. Then there are the channels for correspondence here, appliances for cheap freight, mechanical operations in Britain, the proportions of materials resulting therefrom, &c. &c. Several means of acquiring such information do exist in this country, if sought for, possibly requiring time, trouble, correspondence, and mercantile connections. The neglect of these facilities and inquiries has involved less-informed parties in loss and disappointment, possibly discouraging future attempts to obtain cotton by free-labour; but one of the practical difficulties of such attempts may probably be removed by cleaning the seed-cotton in Britain.

The quantity of wool obtained from seed-cotton, or as it comes from the tree or shrub, is but one-fourth generally of the annual produce of its growth; thus, from 112 lbs. of seed-cotton, only 28 lbs. of cotton-wool is usually obtained, say about 25 per cent. Some fine kinds are much less, and, in some circumstances, it may be 30 per cent, but the exceptions need not be particularized. It is thus evident that about three-fourths of the annual produce remain to be converted to use. To the natives of Africa, especially, it must be of importance to be saved the labour of ginning, and to get a price for seed which, even when ginned by him, he may not turn to any profitable account.

There are countries in which cotton is now growing in a neglected state, or where it is cultivated for use—as in some parts of Western Africa—which will not soon become available for its export if dependent on the introduction of gins, sufficiently large to be serviceable for quantities of cotton for shipment; but from which it could be got in abundance, had the natives only to gather the seed-cotton carefully from the plant, having it packed into square well-compressed bales preparatory to its shipment. If, on the contrary, the seed-cotton has to be all ginned previous to export, probably in comparatively small quantities, for which operations small gins must be scattered over the districts, the likelihood may be that the ginning is found troublesome, is neglected, and the collection of the cotton discontinued for some production requiring less mechanical preparation. The packing of the seed-cotton into square light bales is requisite, but that is a single and simpler operation, and would

be equally needful whether it were ginned or not on the spot.

Natives of Great Britain, who have not resided in tropical climates, are apt to judge of the arts in those regions by the general diffusion of machines and of intelligent mechanics as these exist at home: were it so, these tropical countries would be far advanced in comparative civilization to what they now are. Hence, it is alleged that seed-cotton should be cleaned at the place of its growth, rather than brought in that condition to this country; but were gins employed there, they must be generally small, capable of being moved by the hand only, as some already sent, not exceeding 18 saws, as much as two men can alternately keep going, producing by manual labour only 50 to 70 lbs. of clean cotton per day. Even smaller gins would be more easily manageable on small plantations; but any gins are liable to get out of order without mechanics to repair them on the spot, and can be employed there only during part of the year. Larger gins are proportionally cumbersome, and require the application of horse or water-power, with the erection of gin-houses and driving-gear, &c. By documents on cotton, presented from the Colonial Office, it appears, that, on the retirement of Europeans from Western Africa, such mechanical aids as gins have fallen into disuse, and the plantations dependent on such artificial preparation have been left uncultivated; thus shewing that the growing and ginning departments should belong to different countries, even as in cultivating and refining of sugar.

It is further alleged, that to import seed-cotton would increase the bulk, weight, and freight homeward. As to its bulk, with seed in it, compared with the elastic bulk given to it by ginning, that bulk would be much reduced were it compressed as ginned cotton is, by a screw or lever-power, into compact square bales; and though seed-cotton were to occupy double or even more space, it would come as heavy cargo, paying a reduced rate to what ginned cotton can be brought for,—its worth probably paying its own freight, and a portion of the lackage otherwise incurred had it been ginned previous to shipment.

This compression of seed-cotton would be absolutely necessary, as some has come home so loosely thrown into round bags as to have incurred quadruple freight, in consequence of its lightness and bulk. Some seed-cotton, as Brazilian, has its fibres laid closely round each seed, but requiring, as a mass, to be compressed together, which it will more readily be than when rendered elastic by the process of ginning. Were no better at hand, a ship's jack-screw, as used in the hold of merchant vessels for storing, might, in the first instance, be employed. Cotton vessels, when loading at New Orleans, have a compressing power for storing the bales, besides the

application of any screw-compression on shore. American cotton, after ginning and packing in bales, is rendered so bulky as to pay the high freight of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb.—about 90s. to 115s. per ton being esteemed as light freight. Thus seed-cotton, though heavier than cotton which has been ginned, should pay lower rates of freight per ton, as it will weigh double or triple, owing to its seed, this additional weight being compensated by its value for oil and oil-cake.

The ginning of seed-cotton in this country would become a more continuous occupation as supplies come home: hence the prudence of previous inquiry as to the number and extent of such sources. To import seed-cotton without gins would be want of pre-arrangement and cause detention; and but for a plentiful supply from various sources, the operation of these must be limited: so that, while cultivation abroad might have a constant demand for seed-cotton here, its production would be facilitated by disencumbrance from the process of ginning.

It is conceived that the cotton so ginned in Great Britain not having been matted together, as the American, Indian, and Egyptian, for shipment, and being in a loose state, would be more fitted for manufacturers, by occasioning less waste in opening up the bales at the mills, as they now come home.

It will be perceived that the importation of seed-cotton, or cotton with the seeds in the wool, is especially applicable to the coasts of Western Africa, and to all countries from which no large supplies can be expected without the erection of large gins.

It is not the object of this paper to indicate these countries, but simply to state this mode of supply for the spinner, so greatly in favour of the tropical cultivator. It is for Englishmen to open communications with these countries by previous inquiry as to some of the requisites which have been alluded to, being careful how advances are made on cotton plantations not yet cleared of forest timber; that by due precaution it might be shewn whether free-grown cotton cannot compete successfully with that description of slave produce.

It may be necessary to say, that oil from cotton-seed is found to be "peculiarly fitted for heavy machinery as a lubricator, on account of its not running or drying." It is also stated to be "in regular use for burning," and, though dark-coloured, can be refined for the purposes of sperm-oil."

As regards cattle-feeding, the cotton-seed cake made in Scotland has been analyzed, and, contrasted with other oil-cakes in a tabulated form, from the proportions of oil and other constituents, even as compared with linseed-cake, "it holds a respectable place as an article of food for cattle."

Results could likewise be given in a tabular form, as shewn on six polled Galloway cattle, two



of each having received equal proportions of linseed-cake, of cotton-seed cake, and of bean-meal. Suffice it, to quote the words of a scientific and practical farmer in the Lothians: "Cattle fed on cotton-seed cake made as much progress as those fed on linseed-cake and bean-meal;" and on eight cattle selected for experiment then going on, two of which were getting American made cotton-cake, he says, "so far as we can judge by the eye and touch, the cotton-seed has an equal effect with the linseed in improving the condition of the animals." "In the Baroach district of Gujarat, where the finest cotton of India is grown, the cotton-seed is said to be a distinct and important article of commerce, and in great request for feeding milch-cows, where, when fodder is scarce, the price of cotton-seed is greatly enhanced."

The writer may state that he has observed cows and goats going of their own accord to feed on old cotton-seed, which had been thrown out of a warehouse as unfit for any service. It was then dry, with no appearance of vegetable sap, still less of containing oil, and must have been kept for four years in a tropical climate, and was of the bare sea island sort, free of adhesive down.

The American-made cake is the upland grey seed, covered with adhesive down, but from which the husk with its down has been previously removed, and may thus possibly contain a large proportion of oil, and has been favourably reported of. This application of what was till lately waste seed, only fit for the dunghill and manure, is thus rendered another profitable item of slave-labour, and may stimulate the merchants and capitalists of England, but of London, Liverpool, and Glasgow in particular, to obtain free-grown cotton, and turn it to like useful and profitable results. There is no reason to think its cultivation would not annually increase, like the ground-nut of Africa, when the labour of bringing it to market is rendered more easy and simple. It is not so much to our colonies, perhaps, we should look, as to other productive fields; for, with the exception of India, with its vast population at low wages, and such colonies as Jamaica, where land, though available, wants labourers, every cleared estate and every free workman withdrawn from sugar cultivation, would act as a premium for the larger production of slave-grown sugar in Cuba, Brazil, and the United States.

The topics connected with the ginning of seed-cotton in this country are expansive, and cannot be dwelt on here; but some of these have been already touched on in a few "*Observations on free-labour Cotton*," published among the Proceedings of the Society of Arts for 1846-47. In order to obtain supplies of cotton, independent of the United States, this subject deserves the attention alike of merchants, manufacturers, and mechanics, and merits more inquiry from Com-

mittees, whose efforts, whenever successful again. Slavery in general, have yet to find a substitute in free-grown cotton wherever it can be produced.

PAPER PRESENTED BY MR. ROBERT ALSOP, ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMICAL REFORM TO THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENEFITS OF EMANCIPATION.

The physical and moral benefits which have arisen to the negro population of our West-Indian Colonies from the Act of Emancipation are apparent to all who have had an opportunity of knowing what was their condition under Slavery, and of contrasting this with their present state: not that this state is all that could be desired; far otherwise; yet it is one of vast improvement upon that of Slavery. In corroboration of this, writes a valuable correspondent, J. O. Beardslie, American Missionary in Jamaica, July 27th, 1854: "I have been here since 1838, and have witnessed a great moral change, an important intellectual advancement; and there is no portion of the world that I would choose at this moment as the field for hopeful effort in preference to this."

But while there is much to encourage the Christian philanthropist, it must be admitted that there is also a dark side to the picture, in which are shewn us certain estates broken up or passing out of cultivation, and their proprietors greatly impoverished, or perhaps ruined. We are thus led to the inquiry, "How has this state of things arisen? What are the causes which have hitherto interfered with the commercial prosperity of our West-India Colonies? If it be found that causes exist, and are traceable, which are sufficient in a great measure, or entirely, to account for all this ruin, it may become our duty diligently to seek for a remedy, in order that the fair work of Christian benevolence be not marred in its results.

We should, however, fail in a correct appreciation of cause and effect, were we to ascribe these discouraging features to the introduction of freedom. On the other hand, are they not the natural results of a system of non-residence, of wastefulness, and of mortgage, together with the long outstanding consequences of Slavery? In order the better to judge of this subject, let us hear what the planters themselves say of their own condition forty years before the change took place. On the 23d November 1792, a report was prepared on the sugar-trade of Jamaica, by a Committee of the Assembly, and confirmed, and printed by its order, which contained the following passage: "In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts, 55 estates have been thrown up, and 92 are still in the hands of creditors. And it appears, from a return made to the Provost-Marshal, that 80,121 executions, amounting to

22,563,786*l.* sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years."

Passing over intermediate reports of a like character, we have a statement printed by order of the House of Commons, 13th April 1808, in which, after certain details, they say: "From these facts the house will be enabled to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the sugar-planters has already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing; for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number of the colony. About 1831 they again address Parliament, and plead that "the alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole British West-India interest is at this time involved, justifies them in imploring prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin."

This was before the abolition of Slavery in these colonies; and it was also at a time when it has been shewn they were receivers, in the form of bounties alone, of upwards of a million of money annually, in the advanced value of their sugar, being an average of nearly 600*l.* a year to each of them.\*

In carrying out the abolition of Slavery, an attempt was made, by the apprenticeship system, gradually to initiate the slaves to the duties and responsibilities of a new condition; but it failed, and from the same cause that other despotisms fail, in eliminating the fair fruit of freedom, viz. the want of hearty concurrence on the part of the master: in consequence, the apprenticeship system proved to be but another name for Slavery. There was probably as much to be done to educate the master for the treatment of freemen. Could the employers have but borrowed a little experience from Manchester, from Birmingham, from Sheffield, or even from the agricultural districts of England, they would have seen that it was of the first importance for them to attach the labouring population by every conciliatory means to the soil, and the vicinity of their plantations.

It is evident that this was very imperfectly understood; consequently the endeavours used to coerce estate labour have had an opposite result, and have induced the negro population, in many instances, to settle at too great a distance from the estates, enjoying a certain measure of independence in the cultivation of their plantain and other crops which the earth brings forth abundantly, but not favourably placed for further development.

The introduction of multitudes of immigrants, to be paid for out of the taxes, in order to reduce the wages of labour, has but greatly added to the evil. There is evidence that the negroes are not

indisposed to labour on the estates, for a fair equivalent, and such as the master could afford to give.

For many years the Government of this country had maintained a system of protective duties, to enable our planters to compete with slave-importing colonies. By this means, and by the compensation money, an artificial prosperity was for some time induced; other causes, the offspring of the essentially ruinous system of Slavery, having been all along at work. The duties being now assimilated, the cultivator cannot hope for much success, unless he can fairly match free-labour against slave-labour.

How has the English farmer met the change which free-trade has imposed upon him? Farmers have ever been as much accustomed to grumble as West-India planters, and yet we never remember to have known them quieter than of late years.

Necessity is a stern, but often a salutary teacher. When the farmer found that he must compete with continental prices, he set about to increase his production; he drained his lands, grubbed up his waste thickets and borders, and in every way sought to make the best of his natural position; and he has fairly succeeded. The same would probably have been said of the West-Indian cultivator, were it not to so great an extent the case that the property was far removed from the master's eye. In consequence of this, he has felt himself obliged to go on with much of the costly and wasteful system which has grown up under Slavery, and with the consequences which we have depicted.

Now, what we most earnestly wish to see is, the prosperity of our West-India colonies, religiously and morally, physically and commercially, as it must be evident that the full benefit of freedom, even to the labourer, cannot be brought about but in the establishment of commercial prosperity. Our good friends on the other side of the Atlantic will have the kindness to excuse us, if, in our endeavour to serve them, we may commit a few blunders, as well as when we may chance to touch upon some unpalatable truths. Our knowledge of circumstances so remote must be to some extent rudimentary; yet deriving these rudiments from their own published results, we cannot but believe that brighter days are in store for these lovely islands, and that the germ of such prosperity is to be found in well husbanding all that comes to hand, in short, in the avoidance of waste.

We have been especially struck with the enormous waste which pervades the old-established mode of sugar supply; and as this is, in our apprehension, a point of incalculable importance, it will be necessary to be a little explicit in the examination of the subject.

In the first place, we will hear the testimony of Thomas Kerr, a planter in Antigua, and the author of a practical treatise on the cultivation

\* *A. S. R.*, vol. iii. 1831, p. 272.



of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of sugar. He states as follows: "The cane, when ripe, contains, according to Pelégot and other analysts, about 18 per cent. of sugar, 10 per cent. of ligneous matter, and 72 per cent. of water." Here we have the raw material. Let us see what he says in another place.

"M. Daubrée does not in the slightest degree exaggerate the loss accruing by the usual process, when he states the planter's return, under the most favourable circumstances, upon 18 per cent. of sugar contained in the cane, as follows: Eight per cent. left in the megass or crushed cane; and of the 10 per cent. expressed, 5 per cent. passes into cisterns, ships' holds, and warehouses, as molasses, leaving only 5 per cent. to meet expenses." Five per cent. of sugar saved out of 18 is indeed a startling result. Let us see how this comes about; and it may be stated that there is abundance of evidence as to the correctness of the following observations of our author: "From experiments which have been made, it is certain that the mills commonly in use do not extract more than from 50 to 60 per cent. of the juice of the canes passed through them; indeed, I may say, from what I have myself observed, that the average return scarcely exceeds 50 per cent."

The value of this testimony is impeached by some of the West-India body in London; but it is amply borne out, so far as the pressing and boiling is concerned, by their own Dr. Shier, "a chemist specially retained by the colony of British Guiana for the purpose of effecting improvement in the manufacture of sugar." He says: "The loss of juice removed with the sediment, and also of juice and syrup removed with the skimmings, is very large. To this point I have given much attention, both on the large scale and on the small; and I am satisfied, that on most estates in this colony, where the method of cold tempering is pursued, not less than 20 per cent. of the whole juice is lost for the purposes of making sugar. In some instances I have found it to amount to 25 per cent. Then, as to the other process commonly employed, that of cracking, he says: "There is scarcely less loss of juice than by the method of cold tempering." The sugar is then set to drain in perforated hogsheads; and for every cwt. of sugar, one cwt. of molasses is obtained, a portion of which, with the skimmings, is converted into rum; under ordinary circumstances an unremunerating product, involving very immoral consequences. Before this drainage is completed, the sugar is transferred to the ships, in which there is evidence of a further loss of from 12 to 20 per cent. in the transit; so that the general result may be stated in the words of a British chemist, Dr. Ure, as follows: "The average quality of grained sugar obtained from cane juice, in our colonial possessions, is probably not more

than one-third of the crystalline sugar in the juice which they boil." On these points consult also Dr. Davy, Wray, Leibig, Porter, &c.

It might be supposed that the sugar left in the crushed cane is not wasted, the cane being used as fuel. This, we believe, is not correct, as the cane is not used for fuel until the next season, long before which the sugar will have disappeared from fermentation; and even were it of use in the fuel, we cannot doubt that coal might be obtained at a price much more economical than sugar. There may be difficulties as to machinery needful to obtain the whole, or nearly the whole, of the juice from a given quantity of cane; but any man who has an ordinary acquaintance with chemistry will see that the enormous waste which occurs in the fabrication of the juice *actually expressed*, ought not, in the present state of science, to exist. This may especially be said as to the large product of molasses, which is but a syrup, containing nearly two-thirds of its weight of crystallizable sugar, which ought by some means to reach the home market, either in tight vessels, or, still better, reduced to a dry state. That the latter is practicable we feel sure, having seen it performed on a small scale; and we also feel sure that there exist chemical appliances by which it might be effectuated on the large scale, if attention were properly directed to it.

The recent publication in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of remarks similar to those which are now made has given rise to their republication in the West-India newspapers; and much discussion has taken place confirmatory of the general result. We will quote a few observations from the leading article of the *Barbadoes Agricultural Reporter*, Feb. 8, 1854, in which, after giving particulars of certain estates designated as A and B, the editor says: "The mean result of the sugar manufacture on these two estates, for the years 1851 and 1852 (and we have no doubt that, taking them conjointly, they fully represent the yield of the whole island) is 8.85 out of 20."

"Before taking our leave of this subject," he adds, "we will draw the attention of our readers to the frightful loss of weight between the shipment and the sale of the sugar made on these estates. We were assured that the 666 hhds. shipped from plantation A averaged 2240 lbs. nett on leaving the estate (total 1,491,840 lbs.), whilst the Account Sales shewed only 1815 lbs. per hhd., or a total weight of 1,208,831 lbs., thus losing on the transit, prior to sale, a quantity equal to 155 hhds. of 1815 lbs. nett, or about 20 per cent." After stating a similar result on plantation B, he calculates what would be the loss by drainage in the same ratio upon 50,000 hhds., which is about the produce of Barbadoes, viz. a loss equal to 10,286 hhds. He then says: "If the value of this 10,000 hhds. of sugar or molasses, or whatever it was, were going to the support of the schools or hospitals,

to the construction of roads, bridges, and railways, we might look on other imperfections with a more hopeful eye; but it is melancholy to think on all the sweat, and toil, and treasure, expended to reap, and grind, and fry such an enormous mass of sweet stuff, and to reflect that it keeps some hundred of sailors, (who might be more profitably employed,) at hard labour to distribute it with hand-pumps over the Atlantic."

But we do not complain of this grievous waste for its own sake only. it has a most direct bearing on the Anti-slavery cause; *for all the sugar so wasted had to be met by the importation of slave sugar.*

The home demand for saccharine products for twelve months, 1850-51, has been estimated in round numbers at 8,000,000 cwts. The supply from our colonies for the same period was about 6,300,000 cwts., leaving a deficit to be supplied by foreign slave sugar of 1,700,000 cwts. Had the crop been economised, as we propose, there would have been an additional yield of at least 2,800,000 cwts., or 1,100,000 cwts. in excess of the demand, and we should therefore have had no occasion to import a *single pound of slave sugar.* This economy would thus greatly add to the gain of the planter; it would probably even enable him to undersell the slave colonies, and would, at the same time, allow him to make such an advance of wages as would secure for him sufficient labour, without having to come to the mother-country for immigration loans.

It will be argued that similar improvements in economy will be adopted in the slave colonies, and this is extremely probable; but the result in either case will be, to reduce the price of sugar. How far this reduction of price, and consequent increase of demand, may be carried, it is impossible to conjecture; but it is very likely to reach a point at which slave-labour would cease to be profitable: for it still may be considered as an axiom, that, under equal circumstances, slave labour is more costly than free-labour. This is exemplified in the United States, where the region of ordinary agriculture is cultivated by the hands of free men, while cotton and tobacco are sufficiently profitable to allow of the costly labour of the slave. At all events, the importance of placing our own free colonies in a more prosperous condition is a sufficient justification of our urging such reforms, even were it not the case that a system of waste, is essentially immoral.

Another subject of great moment, in relation to the industrial development of the natural resources of our colonies, is to be found in the preservation and preparation of various fibre-producing plants, such as the plantain, the yacca, the wild pine-apple, &c., of which no account is at present taken, and which are capable of affording a prodigious quantity of material applicable to various purposes, and especially to the fabrication of paper. Some commencement, we

are glad to say, has been made in this direction.

In conclusion, taking into account the existing amount of social order, of civilization and religion, which the labours of the Missionaries and other agencies have been the means of introducing, we cannot but believe, that were advantage taken of practicable, economical reforms, a measure of prosperity would result, which would not be without influence, towards inducing slave-holding countries to rid themselves of the incubus, the sin, and the shame of holding property in man.

PAPER PRESENTED BY C. F. ADAMS, ESQ., LATE OF CHARLESTOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA, ON THE IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

Slaveocracy and its advocates repeatedly ask us what Great Britain has to do with American Slavery. Her interests, say the propagandists of man-selling, are not immediately affected by it; nor are her citizens brought under its influence: hence intermeddling can only be productive of the very worst results. For more than thirty years have several of the slave States of the American Union enforced a law for the imprisonment of free coloured men entering those States, and inflicting heavy jail fees, which, if the victim is unable to pay, he is sent to the auctioneer, who sells him in liquidation of the debt. Finding the enforcement of the law a source of great profit, its functions were extended, all vessels entering their seaports were boarded, and the luckless coloured seamen found on board were seized and imprisoned. Vessels from foreign ports shared the fate of those from domestic free ports. No British or other foreign vessel could enter the ports of New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, or Charleston, South Carolina, with men of colour on board, without being invaded, the flag disregarded, the men of colour dragged to prison, lodged in criminal cells, and treated to criminal diet, for which they were compelled to pay a very fashionable price, or be sold in the market. Great Britain had long boasted her rule upon the wave, fought for the honour of her flag, which she declared should protect the liberty of her citizens, and preserve sacred in the comity of nations the decks of her ships. That the flag was an absolute protection of person and property had been held by the ablest jurists and statesmen of America as well as Great Britain; but Slavery founded a higher law; proved it all a nonsensical fallacy; and that, while national laws were only theoretical, Slavery's rights were practical! Slavery had no respect for sacred decks, inviolable flags, and the stern dictum of national laws; Slavery boarded British vessels, manacled British subjects, set at naught the appeals of Consuls, and made prison cells do the work of reducing honest freemen to the same level with her slaves. Slavery wrung out of its British victim 2 dols.



for arresting, 2 dols. for registering, 2 dols. for recognition, 1 dol. for constable's fees, 1 dol. for commitment and discharge, and 30 cents. a day for "feed," which consisted of a pint of soup, the generous sheriff never for a moment expected his customers to devour; for as customers the sheriff of Charleston viewed all who were unfortunate enough to find themselves lodged at his "establishment," where they were turned into so many mediums of profit. For many years little remonstrance was made against the enforcement of this law, either by the free States of the North or Great Britain; nor was it until the enforcement became so intolerable through cruelty, and until repeated representations were made, that the Government of Great Britain took steps to procure its amelioration. Most humbly did the British Government appeal to the Federal Government in the matter; the Federal Government referred it to the authorities in the States enforcing the law; those States successively declared the enactment no more than a municipal regulation, which, as independent States, they had a right to enforce. Again Great Britain, full of admirable forbearance, appeals to the Federal Government, proves that the law violates its commercial treaty of 1815, and sets at naught that comity of nations so necessary to the interests of both countries. Successive Secretaries of State, after mature deliberation, pronounce the law unconstitutional; and, under ordinary circumstances, such a verdict would have been final. But Slavery regards no such verdict, sets its sovereign power high above federal laws, which it pronounces itself capable of resisting. For the State of South Carolina to imprison poor coloured seamen is unconstitutional, and a violation of the existing treaties, say the Government at Washington to the Government of Great Britain; nevertheless, we can only hand you over to the local authorities; but you must exercise forbearance. Do not make war upon her to redress the wrong we admit, as in that case our articles of confederation would compel us to wheel out our guns in her defence. Thus Slaveocracy continued to set entreaties and remonstrances at defiance, to drive from their shores all commissioners sent from the free States to test in their own courts the validity of the law; and to threaten with violence all British Consuls who were daring enough to expose the enormity, as well as the inconsistency of its enforcement. The British Government, however, treated the matter with so much amiable forbearance, that the Slaveocracy could not bring its mind to believe it in earnest. It must, however, be observed, that the seemingly strange opinion entertained by the slave authorities was not founded without some reason, for with every change of British Consul the course which the British Government pursued in the matter also changed. The orders of one administration would be abro-

gated by the next, so that the Consul either knew not how to act, or durst not act under the instructions of one Government, lest he should be condemned by the next. It will be seen from this that the position of a Consul, whose sympathies prompted him to take a manly course in seeking a modification of the enactment, was any thing but enviable. This state of affairs continued until George B. Mathew, Esq., was appointed Consul at the port of Charleston, South Carolina, and invested by Lord Palmerston with special powers to open negotiations with the State Government for either a modification or repeal of the law. Lord Palmerston instructed Mr. Mathew to bring the matter before the State legislature, and, in the event of failure, to reduce it to a question of law. Mr. Mathew's very reasonable appeals were treated with great rudeness by the Committee of the assembly, and motion at last was passed that no more communications from Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Charleston should be received by that body.

Driven from the Assembly in 1850 and 1851, Mr. Mathew, following his instructions from the Home Government, and not the least daunted by the affront, nor the threats of a Charleston mob, founded a case upon the treatment of *Manuel Pereira* and *Ruben Roberts*,—the former a slightly coloured seaman, taken while sick from a British vessel driven into the port of Charleston in distress,—and sought redress in the law Courts of the State. This was a bold undertaking, for seeking a just verdict in a case of this kind, against the interests of the presiding functionary, popular opinion, and the trade which certain officials had learned to nurture as their own, was like seeking justice at the hands of one who sits as judge in his own case. The case at length came before the district court of the United States at Charleston, Judge Gilchrist presiding, and a decision was given against Mr. Mathew, and in favour of the legality of the law. Then it only remained for Mr. Mathew to carry the case up for the decision of the United States' Supreme Court at Washington, where, but for a fatal error on the part of the British Government, there is every probability the decision of the Charleston Court would have been reversed, and the law declared unconstitutional. In the mean time, and while Mr. Mathew was pursuing this bold and very unexpected course with the Carolinians, the Consul at New Orleans, acting on his initiative, effected the repeal of a similar law in the State of Louisiana. This success of the British Consul in New Orleans, was undoubtedly due to the singular excitement caused in South Carolina by Mr. Mathew's resolute appeals for justice. It is also a satisfactory circumstance, that at its last session the Legislature of Georgia passed an Act similar to that of Louisiana, repealing the law in that State; and that now the only port where the law remains

in force is Charleston, South Carolina, where the law has always been most rigorously enforced.

As a natural result of Mr. Mathew's expostulations, he became somewhat unpopular with what, in common parlance, is called "the people," who declared Charleston no place for a British Abolitionist to exercise the free use of his tongue, and who would have inflicted summary justice but for the fear of better disposed citizens. However, Mr. Mathew found his labours suddenly suspended in consequence of a change in the British Cabinet. Lord Clarendon became Secretary of the Foreign Office, and acting, as it is affirmed, upon intimations from Mr. Crampton, British Minister at Washington, annulled the instructions of his predecessor, ordered the suit to be abandoned, costs paid, and the modification of the law—"repeal he did not expect"—to be left entirely to the generosity or magnanimity of the local authorities. In addition to these orders, so contrary in character and purpose to those issued by his predecessors, Lord Clarendon recalled Mr. Mathew from Charleston, and, not content with this mark of disapproval, transferred him to the less important post of Consul of Philadelphia. This was to disapprove of Mr. Mathew's course, and to sanction the arguments, and endorse the insults, of his opponents; to strengthen which strange and vacillating proceeding, Lord Clarendon appeals for authority to the law-officers of the Crown, who, in opposition to repeated opinions of Secretaries of State at Washington, declare the law of South Carolina not illegal. Thus, the slaveocracy found in this instance an able co-adjutor in Lord Clarendon, whose legal advisers come forward to back his opinion, and sanction King Cotton's supreme right to imprison coloured seamen, citizens of Great Britain.

The Slaveocracy assured him, that if he would repudiate former instructions, annul the suit at law, withdraw his officious Consul, and submit the case to the generosity of the State, it would receive immediate attention. Lord Clarendon performed his part; but have the authorities come generously forward? No. Governor Means, in his opening address to the Assembly in 1852, said he would have advised a modification of the law, *but* for the course pursued by the British Consul. Governor Manning, in his address to the Assembly last year, referred to the generosity of the British Government, and had independence enough—which on a subject of this kind is something in South Carolina—to recommend a modification of the law on the model of that now in force in Louisiana. During the Session a Bill was introduced, December 12, 1853, into the Senate, by the Committee on Foreign Relations, declaring exempt from imprisonment all free persons of colour brought into the State of South Carolina by vessels *not* bound to any port therein, but driven in by stress of weather or

mutiny, provided such seamen remain on board, or in such place as may be selected by the mayor or chief municipal magistrate. Another clause of the Bill exempted all negroes *employed* on board such vessels, or vessels entering the port voluntarily, provided two resident sureties give bonds in 100 dollars each, for every such negro, that he remain on board the vessel. In case these stringent provisions were not complied with, the persons were to be subjected to the existing laws. This Bill was sent to the House of Representatives, where a certain Mr. Hutson added the singular amendment—"That this Act shall not go into operation until Great Britain consents to deliver up to their owners on demand all slaves of South Carolina who may be cast on British coasts." It need scarcely be added, that with this amendment the Bill was lost. The time has again arrived for the Legislature of South Carolina to meet, and we shall see what display of generosity it intends to make in the matter.

This obnoxious law, then, is only enforced, at this time, in a single port of the American Union, Charleston, South Carolina; and a thorough knowledge of the means by which its existence is continued, warrants me in saying that nothing but a firm stand on the part of the British Government is requisite to secure its repeal or modification. Until the slaveocracy be made to feel that England is in earnest, nothing will be effected. In demanding a modification of this law, little fear need be entertained of disturbing the friendly relations existing between the two nations, for the enforcement of the law is more unpopular in the United States than it can be in England; and it may be here mentioned, that after thirty years obstinacy the press of Charleston are now advocating the repeal of the law, as an act of policy necessary to the commercial interests of the State.

In conclusion, we would suggest that petitions and remonstrances be sent to the local authorities of South Carolina, praying for a modification or an abrogation of the law, while a proper representation of the manner in which the law is enforced should be made in the House of Commons, and the facts of the case and the operation of the law made generally known. It may be a question, whether it is good policy for the Government to move in the matter at this crisis; for having committed so fatal an error in the outset, it would be difficult to retrieve the advantages gained by former Governments and lost by itself. Hence, although Great Britain has a direct cause of complaint against American Slavery, and has for thirty years tamely submitted to a greater national insult from the slave-power of America, than that for which she now fights so many bloody but unprofitable battles before Sebastopol, we would at this moment advise great caution on the part of the Government, lest any thing should arise to affect the friendly relations existing between the two countries.